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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

LATIN AND BETTER ENGLISH—AGAIN

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT that there is a definite trend in high schools and colleges toward examining the status of English teaching and for taking steps to better it. And I think that most teachers of English are as perplexed about their field as we are about ours. For they have a much closer administrative supervision of their teaching than we have. In fact, the educationists have turned their guns on English and have made that their target as well as all language teaching. We have mentioned this before, including the dictum of a Board of Education (*CJ* Jan. 1950, pp. 163-164; May, 1950, p. 353). But the thing that mystifies this editor is that the perplexed ones do not seem to be aware that the solution of their problem lies in large part right before their eyes—good Latin teaching in any high school.

The controversy is as old as the hills: whether, in a technological, science-minded age Latin has a practical enough value to warrant a place in the high school curriculum. Well, so far as I have been able to discover, in a search of the records, we have always been science-minded, impatient of mental discipline, and disposed to slight language study. Educationists and school boys were kicking against the pricks two hundred years ago. Few Latin teachers, in the face of the oppositionists, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, were complacent about the contribution of Latin study to the work of the world, especially during that feverish period of scientific discovery and application of mechanical power from 1800-1850 (Cf. "Humanizing the Teaching of Latin," D. S. W. in *CJ* April, 1930).

The burden that should rest on our shoulders this school year is to prove by our teaching and show by sensible and tactful arguments that the best solution of the problem of better use of English is a period of high school Latin in which there is a never-ending application of the principles of Latin grammar to English grammar. Returning students testify of their own accord that their drill in Latin grammar left them never in doubt whether to say "it is I" or "it is me"; "the man whom I saw" or "the man who I saw"; "If I were you" or "if I was you," and many other language crudities.

If ever this editor had a conviction worth while, it is this one: *Latin study of the first and*

second years must be made primarily to function for better use of the simple principles of English grammar. Then, when the pupil has achieved this end, he can be assured, with regard to other principles of English, "all these things will be added unto you."

TRANSLATION AND BAD ENGLISH

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS Feature that emanated from New York City late in August of this year called attention to Dr. C. C. Fries' (University of Michigan) attempts, with the assistance of two researchers of Teachers College, Columbia University, to teach English functionally in Mexico. I quote:

In English it makes a big difference whether you say, "That's an awful pretty hat" or "That's a pretty awful hat." In Latin and other inflected languages such a word-order change might not make any difference, because the inflections would carry the meaning either way.

It is obvious to any Latin teacher, and I should think to the layman, also, that this statement in quite inaccurate. Granted for a moment that "awful pretty hat" is good English for Mexicans to speak, the genius of the Latin tongue would not permit "pretty awful hat" to be expressed in any such simple change of word-order. *Pilleus summa pulchritudine* would be expressed by *pilleus minime blandus* or *minima blanditia* or by a more elaborate paraphrase of the whole idea. The authors may have been thinking (although I doubt it) of a line in Aeschylus' *Choëphoroe* (886), *ton zonta kainein tous tethnekotas lego*, whose ambiguity, except for obvious contextual meaning, destroys their contention.

Whether we are teaching Latin so pupils can train their minds to think logically, or to understand the life and customs of a great race of people, or to be able to glance at a piece of unfamiliar Latin and get the meaning of it, or to translate great passages of Latin literature frequently enough to sense the genius of the Latin language, or perfect their English through repeated attempts to better English renditions of Latin passages, or for any other worthy attainment; undoubtedly the teacher who insists that her pupils shall use good English when they translate, who corrects and corrects and corrects awkward and un-English expressions, is the teacher who most nearly makes the study of Latin function for the use of better English grammar. Anything short of good English in the classroom is anathema.

TAPE FOR TEACHING

THERE IS TAPE for milady's dresses, government tape of scarlet hue, and tape that doctors are concerned with. Then there is a new tape used as the latest wrinkle in the teaching of Latin. It's a trend.

Up at the University of Minnesota, through the co-operation of the Minnesota State Department of Education, the University has set up a "Tape for Teaching" service. It covers all fields and, as Prof. Norman DeWitt expresses it, "Latin is going into it in a big way." The Classics department is "building up a library of some thirty-five magnetic tapes and almost every week members of the department spend an hour or so in the recording studio."

The tapes fall roughly into three classes. The first class consists of simple material such as fairy tales, nursery rhymes, and anecdotes about familiar historical characters, "all in the simplest possible Latin with a consistent repetition of new words." The second class consists of Latin conversational matter in the form of dialogues. The device here is unique. Prof. DeWitt and colleagues have been using the fiction of a foreign visitor to America, whose English is not very reliable, and therefore he talks to the teacher of an American Latin class in Latin. A third voice

as a commentator is used to explain new phrases. The third group consists of talks by members of the department on background for Latin teaching. An interesting feature of this tape service is the use of Kodachrome slides of Italy and Greece, with a cue for changing the slides right in the tape. Prof. DeWitt arranged a two-voice tape with questions and expanded answers in a 25-minute talk on the general history lying back of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, i.e. the military story in which it was shown that the Romans were always worried about the threat from the North.

That Minnesota Latin teachers value this sort of thing is shown by the numerous calls that have come in for tape recordings which the department has not yet found time to prepare. Also, the potential value of the service is seen by the fact that the University of Minnesota can "put members of its Classics department in any classroom in Minnesota that wants us." The only expense of the service to Minnesota schools is the tape itself, which can be used over and over again, and the two-way postage. However, the service, naturally (and unfortunately), is available only to Minnesota teachers. The list of material "on tap" is most interesting, and out-of-staters might get a copy in exchange for a three-cent stamp.

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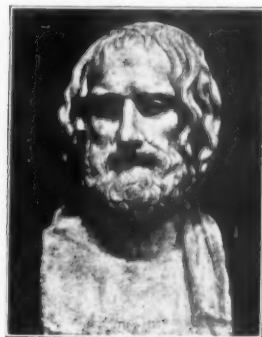
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The Experimental Theatre of Vassar College presented, in Avery Hall on December 15-16, Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (Gilbert Murray translation). The decision of Dionysus (*pace* Aristophanes) is constantly reversed. Euripides is still on the boards.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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"Any Resemblance . . . Is Purely Coincidental"

Cora E. Lutz

The author, e.g., of a monograph on Musonius Rufus, Miss Lutz is at Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.

IN THE FIRST SATIRE, Juvenal very successfully creates the illusion of an ordinarily decent human being so outraged by the iniquities of contemporary society that, though he has no special talent for poetry, his intense moral indignation compels him to write in order to expose those men whose base actions degrade the whole human race. As he proceeds, his own eloquence spurs on this writer in spite of himself until he reaches a climax in two challenging questions quoted from the fiery Lucilius, "What man is there whom I dare not name? What difference does it make whether Mucius forgives what I say, or not?"¹ At this point an imaginary interlocutor interrupts and counsels caution, giving a realistic picture of the fate he may expect if there is the faintest suspicion that he is criticising scoundrels in high places. Thereupon the satire comes rather abruptly to a close when the hitherto self-confident and defiant writer meekly declares, "Then I shall try what liberties I may take with those men whose ashes lie beside the Flaminian and the Latin Ways."

It is obvious that any idea which was selected to be expressed in the concluding lines of a satire would be of more than usual significance. So, by virtue of their position at the end of the satire, these two lines of Juvenal merit close examination. Another circumstance which gives them added weight is the fact that they occur in the first satire which appears to have been composed after the others, or at least after the rest of the first book, and was intended to set the style and tone for all.

What meaning Juvenal intended to convey through these two lines is not entirely agreed upon by his editors and commentators. From the time of the scholiast down, half of them apparently saw no meaning which is not perfectly evident, for they make no comment at all. The notes which do attempt to elucidate the text fall into two general lines of interpretation:² (1) Juvenal meant literally that in his satires he would censure none but the dead; (2) Although Juvenal promised not to attack the living, he did not keep his word.

Typical of the first group is the explanation of G. G. Ramsay in the introduction of his translation: "Juvenal ends his first Satire with the announcement that he is not to follow the example of Lucilius in attacking his contemporaries; his shafts are to be directed, not against the living, but against the dead. That is not to be taken merely as a sign of caution on Juvenal's part, as though he were afraid of rousing resentments like those roused by Lucilius, but is rather an indication that his main purpose is to expose the vices and follies of the day, not to attack the individuals who committed them. He is to be a preacher of morality, not a chastiser of persons. And this promise is to a large extent made good."³ J. W. Duff sees Juvenal, by this stand, choosing a rather unheroic role for himself. He says, "Juvenal himself tells us that he intends to turn his satire against the dead, because it is too dangerous to attack the living. And this is what he seems actually to have done.—But if there was little danger in this method, there was also little glory. Thus it is impossible to claim for Juvenal that he was willing, in his own words, 'to sacrifice his life for the truth.'"⁴

In the second group of commentators there are several editors who express opinions comparable to Anthon's when he says, "The poet only adheres to this determination in appearance, since he still continues to attack the powerful, but does it under fictitious names."⁵ In the eyes of a number of the commentators, this is a reprehensible practice.⁶

The line between the two interpretations is not precise; on the border lie such statements as that of E. G. Hardy: "Whenever Juvenal departs from the rule here laid down and satirizes living persons, they are always either exiles or fallen from power, like Marius Priscus and Crispinus, or men of insignificant position, like Cordus or Machaera, or perhaps Cluvienus."⁷

In opposition to these two attitudes, I should like to take up the cudgels to defend the honesty and the honor of Juvenal. My thesis will be (1) that in these two lines under discussion of course Juvenal is not

speaking literally, that he has every intention of inveighing against his contemporaries,⁸ and (2) that such a practice has nothing cowardly or reprehensible about it.⁹

The whole question pivots about the use of names. A moralist may speak in abstractions, but a satirist must name names. Swift tries to assure us that there is little danger in satire under any circumstances, when he says, "Satyr is a sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally discover every body's Face but their Own; which is the Chief Reason for the kind of Reception it meets in the world, and that so few are offended with it."¹⁰ One notes, however, that Swift himself frequently took the precaution of allowing his most colorful characters to remain nameless.¹¹ Indeed, according to St. Jerome, the mere circumstance of the omission of names is enough to keep one of his own very vigorous, personal attacks from being classed as satire.¹² For the avowed satirist who was obliged to make use of names, there were several alternatives open: (1) to use type-names, (2) to use the names of historical personages in contemporary situations, (3) to use the names of historical characters who have come to represent a type, (4) to use the actual names of living persons. I should like to review these four means open to the poet for designating the object of his satire, with particular reference to Juvenal's works.

Type-names like Novius, Porcius, and Nasidienus seem to fit very smoothly and naturally into the urbane *sermões* of Horace.¹³ His light touch, disarming simplicity, and attitude of genial tolerance toward human weakness create a very favorable milieu for this mildly humorous and gently critical device. However, in using this disguise for his subjects, the poet runs the risk of failing to make any impression upon the very people against whom he is directing his remarks. One has only to recall Horace's surprise thrust at his complacent hearer: "Quid rides? Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."¹⁴ Moreover, it would appear that such a literary convention is always something of the nature of a fad which is popular for a

very limited time. The absence of comparable humorous type-names among the writers of the Flavian period makes one incline to the belief that Porcius and Nasidienus would have seemed as quaint and old-fashioned in Juvenal's day¹⁶ as Charles Churchill's Pomposo¹⁶ and Johnson's Prospero the Snob¹⁷ would in ours.¹⁸ Probably for this among other reasons, Juvenal did not employ this means of identifying his characters.

The device of appropriating the names of actual historical characters and inventing situations parallel to contemporary situations wherein he wishes to expose to ridicule people still living was employed by Phaedrus.¹⁹ In the introduction to his fable of the frogs who asked for a king, he says, "When Athens was flourishing under just laws, liberty grown insolent plunged the city into civic strife and licence broke the old restraints. Thereupon, when the leaders of factions were conspiring, Pisistratus the tyrant seized the citadel. Then, when the Athenians were bewailing their cruel servitude and had begun to make complaints, Aesop related the following fable."²⁰ The substance of the fable is that when the frogs demanded of Jupiter a king, he sent a harmless log which the insolent frogs insulted and mistreated. Jupiter then sent a fierce water snake who devoured them. When in terror a few managed to escape, they appealed to Jupiter for relief, but the god said, "You were not satisfied with your good fortune; now endure your bad fortune." No one reading the fable doubts that Phaedrus was really talking not about frogs but about his fellow-Romans and their bitter lot under Tiberius.²¹ In the use of this method of an historical disguise for a current situation, there would appear to be two factors which might give pause to any writer. In the first place it would necessitate tampering with history,²² a thing in itself bound to raise resentment. Furthermore, contemporaries were more on their guard against this type of veiled reference than any other. Such, it seems to me, was the case of Persius' conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades in his fourth satire,²³ where some of his

readers have seen an unflattering portrait of Nero in the picture of Alcibiades.²⁴ In view of Persius' earlier invitation to readers who could "take" the blasts of the writers of Old Comedy,²⁵ it is possible that he really was depicting the emperor; but it seems hardly credible that his literary ex-cutors would have taken the risk of publishing it, had it been aimed at Nero. Juvenal, at any rate, has not employed this method.

More commonly the satirists used the names of historical characters who had come to stand for a type as a disguise for actual contemporary figures. Probably Lucilius was responsible for introducing this familiar device.²⁶ Horace²⁷ and Persius²⁸ follow his example with varying degrees of effectiveness. Juvenal too uses this rhetorical figure though very sparingly,²⁹ usually to designate a stock character rather than an individual.³⁰

Through the use of these three methods for disguising the persons whom he wished to satirize, the author might feel assured of some measure of security. If he rejected them as invalidating his purpose, he might take the bold stand of Joseph Hall, who in his *Virgidemiarum* declares his intention as follows:

Nor mean (I) to ransack up the quiet grave,
Nor burn dead bones, as he example gave.
I take the living; let the dead ashes rest,
Whose faults are dead, and nailed in their chest.³¹

This, of course, was what Lucilius professed and practiced.³² His fearless attacks on evil and evil men won for him the admiration of all his successors.³³ Though it is unlikely that a man of Horace's temperament could ever have produced harsh Lucilian invective, it would seem fair to say that in any case ordinary discretion would have kept him from making attacks upon persons conspicuous in the political or social scene. Any references in his satires to actual living people are made to quite insignificant persons and in a manner not damaging to their characters.³⁴ Persius, in spite of his ill-humored protestations to the contrary,³⁵ seems nowhere to have named the emperor Nero or other powerful contemporaries. As the political situation deteriorated, for Juvenal literally to have "run

over the same course over which the great son of Aurunca drove his horses" would have been no simple indiscretion, it would have been folly and utter ruin. Even to compare Lucilius and the astonishing license he took with Juvenal, is to ignore the legal, social, and political developments of at least two hundred years.

To ensure the protection of the reputation of the individual, the Romans had early promulgated a law of libel which, according to Cicero,³⁶ was one of the few laws in the Twelve Tables which carried the death penalty for disobedience. The well-known affair of Naevius and his unfortunate skirmish with the Metelli bears witness to the enforcement of the law.³⁷ To be sure the law was no protection for the poor wretches being scourged and flayed by Lucilius, safe in his association with the powerful Scipios,³⁸ but that is recognized as an unusual case. Subsequent to the times of Lucilius, the intent of the law was confirmed by the *lex Apuleia maiestatis* (100 B.C.), the *lex Varia* (91 B.C.), and the *lex Cornelia* in the time of Sulla. Augustus' *lex Iulia de maiestate* seems to have changed the emphasis to libels written or spoken about the emperor and his family. Under Tiberius it was made the basis for his notorious espionage system. The results of the application of the law by Domitian are known to all from Tacitus' grim statement:

Sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.³⁹

The persistent, if still unproven, legend of Juvenal's banishment because of an uncomplimentary reference to Paris,⁴⁰ an actor friend of Domitian, is evidence of the hazard of naming names of living persons.

The only possibilities left for a man who had too inflammable a store of striking adjectives and too offensive a battery of epithets to allow him to speak in abstractions was either to write anonymously or to protect himself by some over-all statement disclaiming any intention of representing real persons.

Anonymous writing apparently provoked the same reaction of disapproval in Roman times as it does now. At all events, it was not employed by Juvenal. He was, however, obliged in some way to safeguard his position in order to secure the right to speak. Although no one had yet coined the conventional lie, "Any resemblance between characters in this book and living persons is purely coincidental," circumstances called for some expression of the same idea. It is exactly in this category of the so-called "hedge-clause" that I should place the sentiment expressed in the last two lines of Juvenal's first satire. I believe that this assumption can be justified on two grounds: first, because other authors did substantially the same thing, and secondly, because it would be entirely consistent with Juvenal's general policy of avoiding matter-of-fact statements.

A clear-cut example of such a disclaimer as used by another author is found in Phaedrus. This satirist who chose the fable as his medium protests a single motive in this way: "It is my intention not to brand individuals, but to show life itself and the ways of men."⁴¹ Yet he does not feel secure under cover of that one advertisement of his innocent intent, for his prologues to the other books repeat his claim to immunity. So we find the following:

Howbeit, should one think to criticize,
Since beasts, nay even trees, here sermonize,
Let him remember that in fable we
Divert ourselves with unreality.⁴²

His fables then present Tiberius and his friends walking about in sheep and lion skins for all to recognize.⁴³ At any rate Sejanus seems to have detected his own image in the fable of the frogs' complaint against the sun,⁴⁴ for Phaedrus speaks bitterly of having suffered calamities, probably including exile, at the hands of Sejanus.⁴⁵

In Juvenal's time, the satirical writer Martial was too shrewd to make the slightest gesture which might jeopardize the patronage he enjoyed from Domitian. Hence his flattering epigrams are studded with the names of Domitian and his favorites. Only when he has some uncomplimentary remark to make

does he use fictitious names. Even though always in such cases he is careful to avoid attacking the great and powerful, he nevertheless publishes his purity of intent thus:

For in my writings 'tis my constant care
To lash the vices, but the persons spare.⁴⁶

A curious commentary on the necessity for measures of extreme caution on the part of authors of the period is found in one of the letters of Pliny.⁴⁷ He tells of hearing Virgilius Romanus read before a small group an original composition written in the manner of the Old Comedy. It was not lacking in *vis*, *granditas*, *subtilitas*, *amaritudo*, *dulcedo*, nor *lepos*; moreover, it made virtue attractive and attacked vice; and, most important, it made use of fictitious names in good taste and real ones suitably. Unfortunately, however, the comedy had one fault, an excess of *benignitas*, though Pliny is ready to excuse that, "quod tamen poetis mentiri licet." Surely a comedy which was too mild for the gentle Pliny could hardly even approach the class of Hall's "toothless satires"! Apparently Virgilius Romanus took literally Horace's mock self-righteous pronouncement: "This pen of mine will never voluntarily attack any living soul."⁴⁸ It is true that Pliny comments upon the incident just because it was unusual; but still one may conclude from the whole episode that in Pliny's day an author was forced so to conceal his purpose behind every kind of mask and camouflage and so to blunt his weapons that nothing recognizable as satire was left. Certainly one cannot imagine that Juvenal would be willing to write anything so tame that one would never guess that it was satire. Rather, his method was to write scathing invective, but under cover of what Duff calls a "protective blind."⁴⁹

It has always been part of the technique of satire to make use of hyperbole, understatement, and a number of similar rhetorical devices which allow the poet to convey an idea in a more striking and colorful manner than he could if he were limited to a plain, sober, exact statement of the truth. So one sees in Horace many a statement which can-

not be taken at its face value. There is, for example, a good case of feigned innocence when he asks forgiveness for his deep-seated failing, namely his habit of pointing out the foibles and follies of human beings. He says that his dear old father started him along this line when he was trying to train him to be upright and decent, and now he finds it impossible to refrain.⁵⁰ One notes a case of understatement when he says that except for the accident of their being in meter, his *sermões* are pure prose.⁵¹ Certainly he exaggerates when he claims that everyone flees at his approach as they would from an infuriated bull.⁵²

As Juvenal was a keener student of rhetoric than Horace was, so he was a greater master of the technique of saying one thing and meaning quite another.⁵³ To consider only the first satire, there is, leading up to the two concluding lines in question, a sequence of thought which is pertinent. Juvenal says that he has gone to elementary school, so why should he not write. When everyone else with no greater qualifications is writing, it would be foolish to spare paper which would be wasted anyway. There is so much sin and vice all around, that it is difficult not to write satire. One would like to sit right down at the crossroads and fill his notebook when he witnesses the degrading and revolting sights common to contemporary life. If nature denies him the ability to write, his very indignation will make verses for him. In all this, there are two ideas which Juvenal wishes to insinuate into the mind of the reader: (1) He has no particular talent for writing, (2) Although he has no talent his indignation will write satire for him.

Now, of course, the first idea stands convicted of falseness by the very language in which the lines are written. Juvenal is master of a brilliant style. In the second place, indignation and anger never produced great poetry in Juvenal or in anyone else. In his spirited analysis of satire, D. Worcester calls satire the "engine of anger, rather than the direct expression of anger."⁵⁴ But Juvenal, by his skillful use of rhetorical techniques, has succeeded in convincing the reader that

he is seething with rage. By a similar method, at the end of the satire, he convinces him that he will vent his anger only upon those who are no longer living. If one cannot take the first literally, neither can one take the second at face value.

If one recognizes the rhetorical techniques employed by satire and is willing to accept them as one accepts the rules of a game, there can be no occasion for questioning the honor of Juvenal or for disparaging his courage. In this case, as I read the rules, when Juvenal says, "Then I shall try what liberties I may take with those men whose ashes lie beside the Flaminian and the Latin Ways," he is saying in effect what Swift, in a lighter mood, in his *Battle of the Books* delightfully phrased as follows:

I must warn the Reader, to beware of applying to Persons what is here meant only of Books in the most literal Sense. So, when Virgil is mentioned, we are not to understand the person of a famous poet, call'd by that Name, but only certain sheets of Paper, bound up in leather, containing in Print the Works of the said Poet, and so the Rest.²⁵

NOTES

¹ Sat. 1.153-154. Most editors are inclined to think that these lines are quoted from Lucilius and represent a spirited defiance of the wishes and opinions of Quintus Mucius Scaevola.

² A noteworthy exception occurs in a note by Miss Hirst. She feels that by these lines Juvenal wished merely to convey the idea that he "intended to take Roman subjects and not Greek myths." Cf. *Collected Classical Papers of Gertrude Mary Hirst* (Oxford, 1938), 68.

³ Juvenal and Persius (Loeb Classical Library, 1924), xlix f. Miss Hirst has called to my attention the fact that Cicero found it safer to choose for speakers in his dialogues men who were no longer living. Cf. *Ad. Att. xii.12 Ad antiquos igitur; ἀνεκτοί ηντων γάρ*.

⁴ *Fourteen Satires of Juvenal* (Cambridge, 1929), xxxiii f.; xxxvii.

⁵ *The Satires of Juvenal and Persius* (N. Y., 1870), 132.

⁶ Cf. G. A. Ruperti, *D. Junii Juvenalis Aquinatis Satirae XVI* (Oxford, 1817), 55.

⁷ *The Satires of Juvenal* (London, 1926), 135.

⁸ I believe that Juvenal was interested principally in attacking crime and folly, but that he often found it expedient to attack criminals and fools both as types and as individuals.

⁹ Cf. A. Widal, *Juvenal et ses Satires* (Paris, 1870), 19: "Il n'en faut pourtant pas croire Juvenal sur parole quand il annonce que, vu la dureté des temps, il ne s'attaquera qu'aux morts. Plus d'une fois, et cela lui fait honneur, il nommera les vivants."

¹⁰ *Battle of the Books*, Preface of the Author.

¹¹ One thinks particularly of his very stringent criticism of his own contemporaries in the various parts of *Gulliver's Travels*.

¹² Ep. xxii.32.

¹³ Cf. E. C. Wickham, *Horace II*, General Introduction to the *Satires*, sec. 6, for a discussion of names in Horace.

¹⁴ Sat. 1.1.69-70.

¹⁵ The realistic and strongly rhetorical nature of much of the literary work of the age would not be congenial to such a mild figure.

¹⁶ Identified as Johnson. Cf. C. Churchill, *The Ghost*.

¹⁷ Garrick. Cf. *Rambler* 200.

¹⁸ In a review of Max Shulman's *The Zebra Derby*, Charles Poore remarks on his use of "funny" names like Asa Hearthrug and Yetta Samovar: "The effects are seldom as uproarious as they may have been intended, and the practice cannot be too vigorously condemned." (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 9, 1946)

¹⁹ Cf. 1.2; 1.3; 1.6; 1.17; III.1; IV.17.

²⁰ 1.2.1-9.

²¹ Cf. J. W. Duff, *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, 142; E. H. Haight, *Roman Use of Anecdotes*, 104-105.

²² Horace very successfully uses a fictional character in this way when he presents Ulysses consulting Tiresias on the niceties of legacy-hunting. (Sat. II.5.)

²³ IV.1-22.

²⁴ The early editors all held this view, but modern criticism has not supported it. Cf. J. Conington, *Persius* 74 and E. H. Haight, *op. cit.*, 150.

²⁵ 1.123-125.

²⁶ The few extant examples are mainly fictional characters used for a humorous effect. Cf. v.228-229; xxvii. 768; xxvi-xxix.991.

²⁷ Cf. E. C. Wickham, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Cf. 1.4; 1.87; III.65; VI.37.

²⁹ Cf. III.53-54 where he speaks of a kind of racketeer dependent upon henchmen who could at any moment expose and ruin him as Verres.

³⁰ His most effective example occurs in a little dramatic scene introduced into Satire x. After the downfall of Sejanus, the people are cautiously discussing the swift course of events, and to avoid mentioning the cause of this sudden execution, one of them refers to Tiberius as Ajax. (1.84).

³¹ v.1.

³² Fragments particularly of Book II give some impression of this.

³³ Cf. Horace, Sat. 1.4.1-6; 1.10.3-5; II.1.61-70; Persius, Sat. 1.114-115; Juvenal, Sat. 1.165-167.

³⁴ Cf. G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 416, note 8.

³⁵ 1.123-133.

³⁶ *Res Publica*, IV.10.12. In a recent article entitled, "Censorship in Republican Drama" (*Classical Journal*, XLII (1946), 147-150), Miss Laura Robinson makes the point that Cicero failed to understand the original decemviral law which was concerned solely with spells

(Concluded on Page 126)

The Transfiguration of the Sibyl

Cornelia C. Coulter

The author has told of the importation of the Sibyl, the Books as a center of Greek influence and favorable to the plebs, picturesque innovations such as the lectisternium, the introduction of the Magna Mater during the Punic Wars.

II

THERE HAD BEEN a slight tendency to use the Sibylline Books as a tool even in the most solemn days of the Second Punic War. In the consular elections for 217, class feeling had run high, the nobles opposing the election of Flaminius, while the plebs gave him enthusiastic support. After the defeat of the Romans at Lake Trasimene and the death of the consul in battle, Fabius Maximus, the newly elected dictator, called a meeting of the senate and "made it clear that Gaius Flaminius had erred more through neglect of religious ceremonial and of the auspices than because of recklessness and ignorance." He ended by urging that the *decemviri* be ordered to consult the Sibylline Books; and when this was done, the *decemviri* very appropriately reported (among other instructions) that a temple should be vowed to Mens.⁴⁴ One is inclined to suspect a similar use of the Sibylline Books in 216, when Terentius Varro had been elected consul with the support of the common people and of a tribune who delivered violent harangues against the dilatory methods of the nobility. After the election, large levies of troops took place, but the departure of the new legions from the city was delayed until the Sibylline Books could be consulted.⁴⁵

This tendency increases startlingly in the period immediately following the Second Punic War, until reports of prodigies render the transaction of business almost impossible. At the beginning of the year 193, Livy says:

Earthquakes were reported so frequently that

people grew tired, not only of the subject itself, but also of the religious ceremonies that were ordered on this account; for no meeting of the senate could be held, nor could public business be transacted, because the consuls were busy with sacrifice and expiation. Finally the *decemviri* were ordered to consult the Sacred Books, and in accordance with their report a three days' *supplicatio* was held. . . . A proclamation was issued that all who were of the same household should celebrate the *supplicatio* together. Also, on the authority of the senate, the consuls proclaimed that, on any day on which religious ceremonies had been ordered because of the report of an earthquake, no one should report another earthquake.⁴⁶

But, drastic as this measure was, it evidently did not correct existing abuses; indeed, the records of the next few years suggest that the report of prodigies and the consequent necessity of consulting the Sibylline Books were being used as a kind of 'racket' to delay the departure of the consuls for their provinces. In 193, the consuls and praetors did not even draw lots for their provinces until after the *supplicatio* had been held. In 191, portents at Rome and at other places in Italy kept Scipio Nasica from leaving the city until a fast for Ceres had been established, a *novemdiale sacrum* and a one-day *supplicatio* held, and the consul had sacrificed certain specified animals to certain gods; and similar events delayed the consuls in 190 and 188.⁴⁷

Two incidents that occurred in the latter half of the second century point in the same general direction. In 144, when the two aequ-

ducts (Appia and Anio) which brought water into the city were in bad condition, and a larger supply was needed by the growing population, the senate commissioned Marcus Rex, the *praetor urbanus*, to repair the existing channels and provide an adequate water supply. Marcus repaired the old aqueducts and planned a new one (which was later called *Marcia*); the senate made a large appropriation to cover the cost of construction, and Marcus' term of office was extended for a year so that he might complete the project. But then, as Frontinus tells the story, "the *decemviri*, while they were inspecting the Sibylline Books for some other purpose, are said to have discovered an oracle stating that it was not right (*fas*) that the *Aqua Marcia* . . . should be brought to the Capitoline." Who was the author of this oracle we do not know, nor what its purpose was, beyond the obvious one of blocking the efforts of Quintus Marcus Rex to improve the city water supply. The matter was brought before the senate in 143 by Marcus Lepidus, speaking on behalf of the college of *decemviri*, and the question was revived three years later by Lucius Lentulus; but the popularity of Marcus was so great that on both occasions his wishes prevailed, and the water was eventually carried to the Capitoline.⁴⁸

In 143, after the Romans had been defeated by the Salassi in the Val d'Aosta, portents at Amiternum and Caere led to the announcement by the *decemviri* that "whenever the Romans were preparing to make war on the Gauls they must sacrifice in Gallic territory." The fragmentary account of Cassius Dio indicates that two members of the decemviral college were sent to inform the consul, Appius Claudius, about the necessary sacrifices, or perhaps even to perform the sacrifice themselves.⁴⁹ The time consumed in the journey of these two men from Rome to the country north of Turin, in preparations for the sacrifices, and in the sacrifice itself, must have been extremely valuable to Appius for the levying of new troops; and it is no wonder that in a second battle he won a decisive victory over the Salassi.

It is possible that the oracle reported in 125 B.C., after the birth of a hermaphrodite, had some connection with the attempt of the consul Fulvius Flaccus to carry out Tiberius Gracchus' program of extending Roman citizenship to all Italians, although the fragmentary report of Phlegon does not mention the political situation.⁵⁰ Certainly we can detect manipulation of the oracles in the advice of the Sibylline Books in 100 B.C. to establish a military outpost at Eporedia, on the Duria, in the territory of the Salassi,⁵¹ and in an event recorded for the year 87 B.C. This was the year in which Cinna, as consul, caused riots by his attempt to equalize the vote of the newly created citizens with that of the older citizenry; was declared by the senate to be neither consul nor citizen; joined Marius in laying siege to the city, and, on gaining entrance, instituted a reign of terror. It was probably in the early part of this year that the oracle announced that "when Cinna and six tribunes had been driven from the state, there would be peace and quiet."⁵²

In the year 83 B.C. the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill was destroyed by fire, and with it the oracles of the Sibyl. Dionysius indicates that some people thought the burning of the oracles intentional, and it is easy to see how citizens exasperated by the kind of obstruction and manipulation that had been practised since 200 B.C. would have been only too happy to have the oracles disappear forever. After their destruction, emissaries were sent to seats of oracles all over the world, and a new collection of prophecies was made to replace the old.⁵³ But evidently the books were guarded with far less care than had been given to them in the early days, and interpolation and falsification were common.

It was apparently one of these interpolated oracles that was discovered in 57 B.C., when Ptolemy Auletes had fled for protection to Rome, and one of the consuls of the year, Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, had (in spite of the rival claims of Pompey) been commissioned by the senate to restore him to the throne. In November of this year a

statue of Jupiter on the Alban Mount was struck by lightning, and the *decemviri*, on consulting the Sibylline Books, found there an oracle saying: "If the king of Egypt come asking for aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet aid with him a large armed force; if you do, you shall have toils and dangers." On the advice of the tribune Gaius Cato, the senate then rescinded its previous action; and, without waiting for the senators to follow established practice and authorize the publication of the oracle, Cato brought the *decemviri* before the people and forced them to announce its contents. Cicero writes to Lentulus in January, 56 B.C., about his own position in *tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate*, and says that most people in Rome think that the pretext of a religious scruple has been introduced by men jealous of Lentulus, not so much to hinder Lentulus as *ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire*—where the obvious reference is to Pompey. Later he speaks with indignation of Cato's *nefaria promulgatio*, whereby, apparently, Lentulus was to be deprived altogether of the governorship of Cilicia.⁵⁴ We have no means of knowing whether Lentulus had any knowledge of the oracle before it was brought before the senate. If he was familiar with its contents, and expected support from Cato, then Cicero's word *perfidia* would have special force.

Two other members of the Cornelius Lentulus family in this period pinned their hopes to a Sibylline oracle, with disastrous results. This oracle declared that there were three Corneli to whom the supreme power of the city was destined to come. Cornelius Cinna and Cornelius Sulla had already held this power; and each of the Lentuli in turn believed that he himself was destined to be supreme ruler of the state. But each of them met a tragic end. Lentulus Sura, the Catilinarian conspirator, was strangled in the Tullianum; and Lentulus Crus, who fought on Pompey's side during the Civil War, shared Pompey's fate, being seized and put to death immediately after he landed in Egypt.⁵⁵

Other oracles of the same type are quoted in the Ciceronian Age. On the eve of the

Civil War, an oracle was found, predicting terrible slaughter; the nearer to the city, the oracle said, the more terrible the slaughter would be.⁵⁶ And in the last year of Caesar's life it was reported that the quindecimvir Lucius Cotta was planning to propose in the senate that, since the Books of Fate contained the statement that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king, the title Rex be conferred upon Caesar.⁵⁷

But with the battle of Actium a new day dawned. Augustus ordered a thorough sifting of the oracles, had over two thousand books of spurious prophecies burned, and deposited the remainder in the newly built temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill.⁵⁸ We are not told that he made a definite effort to change the attitude of the Roman people toward the Sibyl and her oracles, but such a change is evident in the work of the two greatest poets of the Augustan Age, Vergil and Horace. The conception of the Sibyl and the *versus Sibyllini* which we find in their poems is clearly based on the traditions and the usage of earlier years; but the figure of the Sibyl that emerges is a new one, and the utterances ascribed to her in the Augustan Age have a dignity and a significance that is lacking in oracles quoted from the Sibylline Books in Republican Rome.

As early as 40 B.C., when he wrote the fourth *Eclogue*, Vergil was familiar with traditions connecting the Sibyl with Cumae and linking the oracles of the Sibylline Books with celebrations that marked the end of an era. "The last age of Cumaean prophecy has come," he announces; but the picture that he then paints of a new era of righteousness and peace, of the birth of a child who will be "the mighty germ of a future Jupiter," of the whole universe trembling with awe and rejoicing in the age that is to come⁵⁹—all this transcends anything that the Romans had known in the *Ludi Saeculares* of the Republican period.

Years later, when the *Aeneid* was taking shape, Vergil must have found in his sources a story of the Sibyl who had her seat near Mount Ida and the advice that she gave the Trojans: to sail westward until they came to

a place where they ate their tables; then to take a four-footed creature as their guide, and follow until it grew weary; and on the spot where it stopped to rest they should build their city.⁶⁰ This material Vergil has used in three different incidents of the *Aeneid*, all carefully motivated, and so arranged that they form progressive steps in the revelation of Aeneas' destiny.⁶¹ The prediction that the Trojans will eat their tables is brought into connection with the defiling of a meal by the harpies, and is made more ominous by being put in the mouth of Celaeno. An animal that will furnish a sign for the site of the future city figures in the detailed instructions given to Aeneas by Helenus, priest of Apollo at Buthrotum; but the unnamed wandering creature has been transformed into a great white sow, lying at rest in the shade of dark ilex branches, and nourishing a litter of thirty young. And the Sibyl herself appears, not at the beginning of Aeneas' journey, but after he has reached the western coast of Italy. Helenus bids Aeneas go to her for information about the peoples that he will find in Italy, the wars that he must fight, and the toils that he must still endure; and, when Aeneas finally encounters her, she plays a rôle far more important than that of the Sibyl in the early legend.

Vergil's Sibyl still keeps many of the traits that had for centuries been associated with her name. Her great age, and her connection with Apollo are emphasized; her seat is a cave, and, like the Sibyl of Heraclitus, she speaks "with frenzied lips." In appealing to her for aid, Aeneas foreshadows the part that the Sibylline Books were to play in Roman history, by promising that her utterances will be placed in a sacred shrine, under the guardianship of chosen men. The specific directions that she gives about the offering of the golden bough to Proserpina recall the reports from the Sibylline Books by *duoviri* or *decemviri* that certain gods must be honored and certain offerings made; and, in particular, her advice to Aeneas to perform burial rites for his dead comrade Misenus, in order to remove the taint that now rests

upon his whole company, reminds us of instructions from the Sibylline Books for restoring the *pax deorum*. But beyond this, the whole conception of the Sibyl has changed. Her cave is a vast, mysterious cavern with a hundred mouths and a hundred echoing voices. She herself is a "most holy priestess," and the scene in which the power of the god comes upon her fills the spectator with awe. She is more than mortal to behold, more than mortal in the sound of her voice. As intermediary between god and man, she guides Aeneas through the underworld, telling him of the regions too awful for him to look upon; she accompanies him to the height from which he can view the long pageant of his descendants, and finally brings him back safely to the upper world.⁶²

Horace's active connection with the Sibylline Books came two years after the death of Vergil, in 17 B.C., when Augustus planned and carried out a celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*. Our information about these games is unusually full and detailed. We have the thirty-eight lines of Greek verse that the *quindecimviri* supposedly found in the Sibylline Books, giving directions for the celebration,⁶³ an inscription on stone (the greater part of which has been preserved) from one of the two tall columns set up to commemorate the event;⁶⁴ the text of the hymn that Horace wrote for the occasion, and another poem addressed to members of the chorus while he was teaching them the words and music.⁶⁵

From all these sources we can form a clear picture of the celebration of 17 B.C. We know that Augustus was personally concerned with plans and preparations for the *Ludi*, and it seems obvious that he gave his sanction to every detail. His purpose evidently was to preserve the beauty and dignity of earlier celebrations ordered by the Sibylline Books, and at the same time to make these *Ludi* an expression of the ideals of his own age. Like earlier celebrations of the *Ludi Saeculares*, the celebration of 17 B.C. included ceremonies held by night in the Campus Martius, "at the point where the Tiber is narrowest." *Ludi scaenici* were given in the

primitive fashion, without seats for the spectators; and one hundred and ten matrons celebrated a *sellisternium* in honor of Juno and Diana, which must have resembled the honors paid to these goddesses in the *lectisternium* of 217 B.C. The prayers in which Augustus led the college of *quindecimviri* besought the gods, in the stately language of the fourth century B.C., to increase the power of the Roman people, at home and on the battlefield, to grant them sound health and success in war, and to keep the Latins submissive to their sway. A group of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls took part in the ceremonies, as groups of boys and girls in equal numbers had done on several different occasions in the past; and the hymn that they sang in honor of the gods followed the tradition established by the hymn of twenty-seven maidens in honor of Juno Regina in 207 B.C.⁶⁶

But combined with the traditional rites are certain new elements. Our information about the *Ludi Saeculares* in Republican Rome is too scanty to warrant an exact statement of divinities honored and sacrifices offered; but it seems clear that what impressed the people most was the ritual carried on for three successive nights beside the Tiber. In the Augustan celebration these ceremonies took place on the nights preceding June 1-3, and the divinities honored were great elemental powers that may well have had a share in the rites of 348 B.C.: the Fates, the goddesses of childbirth, Mother Earth. But following these sacrifices on each of the three days were even more impressive ceremonies in honor of the gods of heaven: Jupiter, Juno, Apollo and his sister Diana.⁶⁷ These ceremonies took place on the Capitoline and Palatine Hills, and the climax of the whole celebration was the hymn sung on the last day, first before the magnificent new temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and then before the temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus*. The words of the hymn hark back to old-time consultations of the Sibylline Books, but at the same time strike a note not heard before the Augustan Age. The chorus tell of "the sacred time at which the Sibylline Books

have bidden the chosen band of chaste youths and maidens sing their hymn to the gods who hold dear the seven hills;" they beg that the Roman race may continue, and sing these songs and celebrate these games age after age; they ask the gods to hear the prayers of the descendant of Anchises and Venus who is "powerful over a warring, but gentle to a prostrate, foe," and tell of the return, in his reign, of faith and peace, honor and chastity and old-time manliness; and in the end they voice the triumphant assurance that their prayer has been heard, and that the Roman race is being preserved for another and still better age.

To these noble heights had the Sibyl attained. Some of the glory that was hers in the Augustan Age still clung to her through the later Empire, and made the poet Rutilius Namatianus lament the destruction of her oracles as the death of "the mother of the whole world."⁶⁸ Renaissance artists felt her power; and when we today remember the Sibyl, we think of her, not as the raving prophetess of the Troad, nor the strange old woman who visited King Tarquin, nor as the source of graft and corruption in Republican Rome, but as the inspirer of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, the *sanctissima vates* of Vergil.

NOTES

⁶⁶ Livy 22.9-7-11. Cf. Altheim, *op. cit.*, 295-296. For examples of Flaminius' *neglegentia caerimoniarum auspicionumque*, see Livy 21.63; 22.3.4-14. Livy says that upon his election to the consulship Flaminius left the city because he thought that his enemies would falsify the auspices and use the *Feriae Latinae* to delay his departure. The practice of the augur Marcellus, to which Cicero alludes in *Div.* 2.36.77, shows that even the most highly respected citizens of this period were not above using religion for their own purposes.

⁶⁷ Livy 22.34-36.

⁶⁸ Livy 34.55.1-4.

⁶⁹ Livy 36.37.1-6; 37.3.1-6; 38.35.7-36.4.

⁷⁰ Frontinus, *De Aquis Urbis Romae*, 7; Livy, *Frag. Oxyrhyn.*, 54, 188-190. The Anio is mentioned by Frontinus, but the text of this part of the sentence is too fragmentary to permit restoration. Frontinus dates the event in the year of the city corresponding to 146 B.C., but the consuls whom he names held office in 144. It may be that in 143, as in 179, some property owner objected to having the aqueduct carried across his land. Cf. Livy 40.51.7.

⁷¹ Julius Obsequens 21 [80] (where the reading *Caere*

is an editorial conjecture); Cassius Dio, Fr. 74.1; Livy, Book LIII, *Periocha*. Cf. George Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic* (London, 1864-1874) 1.55-56. This may have been the matter about which the decemviri were consulting the Sibylline Books when they discovered the oracle referring to the aqueduct.

⁶⁰ Phlegon, Fr. 36.X (See n. 19 *supra*.) Cf. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, 45.

⁶¹ Pliny, N. H., 3.17 (21) 123; Velleius, 1.15.1 and 5.

⁶² Granius Licinianus, ed. M. Flemisch (Leipzig, 1904) 35, 15, (where the reading *sexque tribunis* is an editorial conjecture). Cf. Livy 79, *Periocha*; Velleius 2.20.2-5; Appian, B. C., 1.64-71.

⁶³ Dion. Hal. 4.62.6; Tac., Ann. 6.12.4; Suet., Aug. 31.1; Lact., *Inst. Div.*, 1.6.11, 14.

⁶⁴ Cic., *Q. F.*, 2.2.3; 2.3.1; *Fam.*, 1. 1, 2, and 4-7 (especially 1.2.4, in *tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate*; 1.4.2, *nomen inductum fictae religionis*; 1.5.2, *nefaria Catonis promulgatio*; and 1.7.4, *quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt*); Plutarch, *Pompey*, 49; Cassius Dio 39.12-16.

⁶⁵ On Lentulus Sura, see Cic., *Cat.* 3.4.9; Sall., *Cat.* 47.2 and 55.3-6; Plutarch, *Cic.*, 17.4; Appian, B. C., 2.4. On Lentulus Crus, see Caes., B. C., 1.4.2, 3.104.3; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 80.4. It is uncertain whether the Lentulus mentioned by Cicero in *Fam.* 9.18.2 among those who *foede perierunt* is Lentulus Spinther or Lentulus Crus. The resemblance between *Cat.* 3.4.9 and B. C. 1.4.2 is striking, even though Caesar speaks merely of Lentulus' boast that he would be "Sullam alterum, ad quem summa imperii redeat." Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 537, n. 4, assumes that the oracle quoted by Lentulus Sura was a forgery; but it is possible that there were actually in the collection of oracles made in the time of Sulla some verses about three members of a great Roman family, which could be understood as referring to the Cornelii. Cf. Appian, B. C., 1.97, where an oracle beginning, "Believe me, O Roman," and promising power through the help of Aphrodite, is brought to Sulla.

⁶⁶ Pliny, N. H., 17.25 (38) 243. Cf. Cassius Dio 47.14.4.

⁶⁷ Suet., *Iulius*, 79.3; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 60.1; Appian, B. C., 2.110; Cassius Dio 44.15.3. Cf. Cic., *Att.*, 13.44.1; *Fam.* 12.2.3 (where, the word *fatalis* seems to have been chosen because of Cotta's connection with the *Libri Fatales*); Div. 2.54.110, and Pease, *ad loc.*

⁶⁸ Tac., Ann., 6.12.4; Suet., Aug., 31.1. On the significance of placing the oracles in the temple of Apollo rather than in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, see Altheim, *op. cit.*, 351-353.

⁶⁹ Vergil, *Ecl.* 4, especially lines 3-14, 48-52. Many scholars believe that the poem reflects discussion of plans for a celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, postponed because of war conditions from 49 B.C. On the possibility that the ideas of a golden age still to come, and the birth of a wonderful child, may have reached Vergil from the East, see J. L. Mayor, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London, 1907) 107-115.

⁷⁰ Dion. Hal. 1.55.4.

⁷¹ *Aen.* 3.245-257; 388-393; 441-460.

⁷² *Aen.* 6, especially lines 9-12, 35-155, 243-254, 562-629, and 897-98.

⁷³ The lines seem to have been composed for the occasion, but may have included portions of earlier oracles. See note 19 *supra*.

⁷⁴ Discovered in 1890, and published in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 8 (1899) 225-274, and in *CIL* 6.32323. The fragment of the Acta of 204 A.D., which help to fill out the prayer of the Augustan celebration, was published by P. Romanelli in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1931, 313-345.

⁷⁵ Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, and *Carm.* 4.6. See the detailed discussion of the whole program, with comment on the *Carmen Saeculare*, in Altheim, *op. cit.*, 394-407. If the theory about the origin of the games cited in note 34 is valid, Altheim's statements about Dis and Proserpina (403-404) should be modified.

⁷⁶ For the night celebration beside the Tiber see Val. Max. 2.4.5; Censorinus, *D. N.*, 17.8; Zosimus 2.2-3. For the lectisternium of 217 B.C., see Livy 22.10.9. For repetitions of the rites of 207 B.C., see Livy 31.12.9; Julius Obsequens 27a[86]; 36[96]; 46[106]; 48[108]; 53[113]. Ten boys and ten girls took part in the ceremonies of 190 B.C. (Livy 37.3.6), and thirty boys and thirty girls performed a sacrifice on the island of Cimolus in 108 B.C. (Julius Obsequens 40[100]).

⁷⁷ Sacrifices to the two groups of divinities—the *daimones melichioi* or 'gentle' gods and the gods of heaven—are prescribed in the section of the oracle of 17 B.C. (lines 25-30) which may have been taken from an earlier acrostic oracle.

⁷⁸ *De Reditu Suo* 2.60.

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and incantations, since he was referring always to a later revision. This later censorship, Miss Robinson argues, was exercised only in the case of dramatic performances sponsored by the government.

⁷⁹ Tenney Frank has reviewed the question in his *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, 34 f.

⁸⁰ Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 11.1.65-68.

⁸¹ *Agricola* 2.

⁸² *Sat.* VII.90.

⁸³ in *Prol.* 49-50.

⁸⁴ 1, *Prol.* 6-7, *trans.* J. W. Duff.

⁸⁵ *E.g.* 1.6; 1.3; IV.9; IV.17.

⁸⁶ 1.6. Cf. E. H. Haight, *Roman Use of Anecdotes*,

105.

⁸⁷ III.38-44.

⁸⁸ X.33.9-10.

⁸⁹ *Ep.* VI.21.

⁹⁰ *Sat.* 11.1.39-40.

⁹¹ J. W. Duff, *Roman Satire*, 149.

⁹² 1.4.103-143.

⁹³ 1.4.46-47.

⁹⁴ 1.4.34.

⁹⁵ Apparently he followed the suggestion of Tranio in Plautus' *Mostellaria* (665): "Calidum hercle audivi esse optimum mendacium."

⁹⁶ *The Art of Satire*, 18.

⁹⁷ *The Bookseller to the Reader*.

Cicero's Contribution to the Text of the Twelve Tables

P. R. Coleman-Norton

The author has described the struggle of the plebs for the codification; shown Cicero as ranking with the professional Gaius as a source; presented the law of summons, surety, divorce, inheritance, exceptio, boundary disputes, libel. Part two necessarily begins abruptly.

II

VIII. 8b: "... NEVE ALIENAM SEGETEM PELLENERIS ..."⁶⁷ "... Nor shall you have coaxed another's corn-crop [by incantation into your own land] ..."

It is true that for this regulation Girard gives Augustinus, *Civ. Dei*, VIII. 19 [ad init.], as a witness; but, if one reads what Augustinus reports, one sees that the saint has Cicero as his authority that in the Twelve Tables there was provided punishment for a person who had committed this crime.⁶⁸

VIII. 13: "LVCI ... SI SE TELO DEFENDIT, ... ENDOQVE FLORATO."⁶⁹ "By day ... if he defends himself with a weapon, ... and he shall shout."

This provision is compounded chiefly from two passages in the *Pro Tullio*, one of the earlier and the most defective of Cicero's surviving speeches in civil cases.⁷⁰ In 22 (24). 52 (47)⁷¹ after a *lacuna* Cicero says that one of the opposing counsel (*ille*) has read to him (Cicero) from the Twelve Tables the law which allows that it is permitted to kill a thief by night (*furem noctu ... occidere*) and [even] by day ("LVCI"), if he defend himself with a weapon (*si se telo defendat*). After commenting on his opponent's purpose in this recital Cicero continues a little lower in 23 (21). 55 (50) that the Twelve Tables forbid a thief (*fur*), that is, a plunderer and a robber (*praedo et latro*) to be killed by day (*luce*), [even] when you catch a quite obvious enemy within your house-walls, unless he defends himself with a weapon ("nisi se

TELO DEFENDIT"); it says, even if he shall have come with a weapon, unless he shall use this weapon and shall resist, you shall not kill [him]: but, if he resist, call out ("ENDO FLORATO"),⁷² that is, shout, that some persons may hear and assemble [to aid you or to witness the act].⁷³

It is surprising that Girard has overlooked the reference in *Mil.*, 3. 9, where Cicero again quotes part of this provision⁷⁴ in posing the question: If the Twelve Tables have wished that a thief during the night in whatever manner [he presented himself], but [a thief] during the day, if he defended himself with a weapon (*si se telo defenderet*),⁷⁵ be killed with impunity, who is there who can suppose that in whatever circumstance any one has been killed there must be punishment [for the slayer], since he sees that at times a sword for slaying a human being is extended to us by the laws themselves?⁷⁶

VIII. 20a: "Sciendum est suspecti crimen e lege XII tabularum descendere." "One must know that [the right of] accusation of suspicion [of maladministration or of neglect] descends [to us] from the Law of the Twelve Tables."

Here the only comment comes from Cicero, who in *Off.*, III. 15. 61, says that criminal fraud (*dolus malus*) has been punished by the laws and simply mentions as an example the code in the matter of guardianship (*tutela*).⁷⁷

VIII. 20b: "Si ... tutores rem pupilli furati sunt, videamus an ea actione, quae proponitur ex lege XII tabularum adversus

tutorem in duplum, singuli in solidum teneantur." "If . . . guardians have stolen the property of [their] ward, let us see whether by this action, which is proposed in accordance with the Law of the Twelve Tables against a guardian for double [damages], they may be held individually [liable] for the entire sum."

Again Cicero appears to be the only other one who refers to this regulation. In *De Or.*, I. 36. 166-167, he tells a tale about two orators arguing in court over a degrading sentence⁷⁸ of [dishonest] guardianship (*turpe tutelae iudicium*) and remarks on their ignorance of the civil law, because the one was seeking by bringing statutable action more than the provision in the Twelve Tables had permitted and the other was thinking that it was unjust for more to be demanded from him than what was [the amount] in the suit.

VIII. 242: "SI TELVM MANV FVGIT MAGIS QVAM IECIT, aries subiicitur." "If a weapon has escaped from [the wielder's] hand rather than [if] he (the wielder) has hurled [it], a ram is substituted."

This statute is given thrice by Cicero, who, however, quotes it fully only once.

Discussing intended and unintended results in *Top.*, 17. 63, Cicero illustrates this topic (§64) by declaring that to throw a weapon is [an act] of will, [but] to hit a person whom you had not wanted [to hit is an act] of chance. And from this is substituted (*subiicitur*) that well-known ram (*aries*)⁷⁹ in your law-suits: If a weapon has slipped from [one's] hand rather than [the holder] has hurled [it].

In *Tull.*, 24 (22). 56 (51), Cicero quotes the rule through "MA" of "MAGIS", where the last *lacuna* in this speech starts. He introduces it by asking who is there whom it is more fitting to pardon (seeing that his opponent recalls him to the Twelve Tables) than any one who unawares has killed some one. None, he thinks. For this is a silent law of humanity, that from a person may be claimed punishment for intention, [but] not for chance. However, [our] ancestors have not granted pardon for this kind of circum-

stance. For the law in the Twelve Tables is: If a weapon has slipped from [one's] hand, . . .

Finally, in *De Or.*, III. 39. 158, Cicero shows how brevity is attained by metaphor (*translatio*), when he quotes the phrase, "SI TELVM MANV FVGIT," and explains that the aimlessness of the discharged weapon can not be expressed more briefly by proper words than has been indicated by one [word] employed metaphorically (*unum . . . translatum*).

IX. 1, 2: "Privilegia ne inroganto . . . De capite civis nisi per maximum comitatum . . . ne ferunto . . . Leges praeclarissimae de XII tabulis tralatae duae, quarum altera privilegia tollit, altera de capite civis rogari nisi maximo comitatu vetat." "Laws of personal exception shall not be proposed . . . [Laws] concerning a citizen's person unless through the greatest assembly shall not be passed . . . [There are] taken from the Twelve Tables two most excellent laws, of which the one abolishes laws of personal exception, the other forbids [bills] concerning a citizen's person to be introduced save by the greatest assembly."

Girard runs these two regulations together thus and collects each from *Leg.*, III. 4. 11 and 19. 44. In the first passage Cicero merely proposes laws appropriate to his ideal State, while he comments on such legislation in the second passage. According to Girard all our information about these provisions comes only from Cicero. Cicero starts his exposition with the statement that these two very excellent regulations he has taken from the Twelve Tables⁸⁰ and he exclaims how much must be admired the ancestral foresight for posterity, when the factious tribunes of the people not yet had been established [and] not even had been contemplated!⁸¹ They (the *maiores*) were unwilling that laws against private persons should be passed; for that is a law of personal exception (*privilegium*),⁸² than which what is more unjust, since the meaning of law is this: an ordinance or an order [binding] on all persons? They were unwilling that a law concerning individuals should be proposed (*ferri*) except at the *comitia centuriata*;⁸³ for the

people, when divided according to wealth, ranks, ages, apply more deliberation to voting than when convoked unclassifiedly into tribes.⁸⁴

In *De Domo Sua*, 17. 43, Cicero again testifies to the first statute in saying that the Twelve Tables forbid that laws against private persons be proposed (*irrogari*), for that is a law of personal exception (*privilegium*). This statement is part of Cicero's attack on Clodius, who engineered Cicero's exile by the passage of such a *privilegium*. By *Pro Sestio*, 30. 65, Cicero connects the two statutes, when in discussing the condition of the common wealth in the consulate of A. Gabinius and L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (58) and in reference to his own exile at that time he asks why, when were proposed (*ferri*) [bills] concerning the status of a citizen (*de capite civis*)⁸⁵ . . . and the confiscation of [his] property, when it had been enacted both by the sacred laws and by the Twelve Tables, that it was permitted neither that a law of personal exception (*privilegium*) be proposed (*irrogari*) nor that there be introduced a proposal (*rogari*) about status (*de capite*) except (*nisi*) at the *comitia centuriata*, [why] was heard no voice of the consuls? Finally, in *Rep.*, II. 36. 61, reference to the second regulation is seen, when Cicero relates how one of the decemvirs, who had seen a corpse exhumed in the room of a man of high rank, although the decemvir himself held supreme power, because [his sentence] was without appeal [if he had acted on circumstantial evidence and had condemned the patrician], nevertheless demanded surety [for the patrician's appearance in court], since he said that he would not disregard that excellent law, which forbade that it be decided about the status of a Roman citizen (*de capite civis Romani*) except (*nisi*) before the *comitia centuriata*.⁸⁶

X. 1: "HOMINEM MORTVVM⁸⁷ IN VRBE NE SEPELITO NEVE VRITO." "One shall not bury or burn in the city a dead person."

In *Leg.*, II. 23. 58,⁸⁸ Cicero records this rule, for which he is the only witness. He interprets the addition of the second verb as due to the danger of fire and adds also

that it indicates the burial, not of the person who is burned, but of the person who is interred.⁸⁹

X. 2: "... HOC PLVS NE FACITO: ROGVM ASCEA NE POLITO." "One shall not do more than this: one shall not smooth a pyre with an axe."

Again we look only to Cicero for this ordinance, which occurs in *Leg.*, II. 23. 59. This he offers to illustrate the rules limiting the expense and the mourning at funerals, which provisions, he says, for the most part were taken from the laws of Solon [c. 639—c. 559].⁹⁰ This statute seems to mean that in the dim view of the decemvirs a rough-hewn pyre without elaborate smoothness of its wooden material should suffice for a citizen's cremation-couch.

X. 3: "Extenuato igitur sumptu tribus riciniis et tunica purpurea et decem tibicinibus tollit etiam lamentationem." "Since the expense then has been diminished to three veils and to a small purple tunic and to ten flutists, it abolishes also lamentation."

This paraphrase, for so Girard treats it, is found in *Leg.*, II. 23. 59, and is another example of the limitation of expense and of lamentation. Cicero refers again to the *tres ricinia* in *Leg.*, II. 25. 64, where he expressly repeats⁹¹ that Solon's legislation stopped extravagance in expenditure and in lamenting and declares that the decemvirs incorporated this law in almost the same words (*eisdem prope verbis*) into the tenth table (*decima tabula*). The *tres ricinia* and most of the rest are Solon's, says Cicero. In view of this explicit statement it seems that some of these words in the paraphrase must have had a place in this statute: almost certainly *tres ricinia*, *tunica purpurea*, *decem tibicines*.

X. 4: "MVLIRES GENAS NE RADVNT, NEVE LESSVM FVNERIS ERGO HABENTO." "Women shall not lacerate [their] cheeks or hold a wailing because of a funeral."

Cicero alone preserves this provision, which he places in *Leg.*, II. 23. 59 and 25. 64. In each passage Cicero cites Solon as the author and in the latter *locus* asserts that the rule was reproduced exactly from Solon's.⁹²

"LESSVS" bothered the commentators even

before the age of Cicero, who introduces this rule as additional evidence for the effort to abolish extravagant mourning, because in the former passage he records that the old interpreters Sex. Aelius (Paetus Catus) and L. Acilius said that they did not understand fully this, but suspected [that it meant] some kind of mourning-garment, while L. Aelius⁹³ [thought] *lessus* a sort of sorrowful shrieking (*eiulatio*), as the word itself signifies [says Cicero]. Cicero himself judges that the latter interpretation is correct, because Solon's law forbids the very thing. Indirect testimony on *lessus* comes from *T. D.*, II. 23. 55, where the *consensus codicum* has *fletus*, which seems both inadequate and a gloss on so rare a word as *lessus*.⁹⁴ In this passage Cicero writes that shrieking (*eiulatus*) is not permitted even for a woman (*mulier*) and that this doubtlessly (*nimirum*) is *fletus* [*al. lessus*], which the Twelve Tables forbade to be used in funerals.⁹⁵

x. 5a: "HOMINE MORTVO NE OSSA LEGITO, QVO POST FVNVS FACIAT." "When a person has died, one shall not collect [his] bones, whereby one may make a funeral afterward."

In *Leg.*, II. 24. 60, Cicero tells that the Twelve Tables abolished other funeral customs, by which grief was augmented, and as an example quotes this rule.⁹⁶ Again Cicero serves as our single authority for this statute.

x. 5b: "Excipit bellicam peregrinamque mortem." "It excepts death in war and in a foreign land."

Only Cicero cites this exception, which he joins immediately in *Leg.*, II. 24. 60, to the preceding provision (x. 5a *supra*).⁹⁷

x. 6a: "Haec praeterea sunt in legibus . . . 'servilis unctura tollitur omnisque circum-potatio' . . . Ne sumptuosa respersio, ne longae coronae, ne acerrae." "These things also are in the laws . . . 'anointing by slaves is abolished and every kind of drinking-bout' . . . [Let there be] not expensive sprinkling, not long wreaths, not incense-boxes."

Once more we depend upon Cicero in *Leg.*, II. 24. 60, for this regulation, which perhaps is a paraphrase, although the second half may have occurred in the original or-

dinance. Here are other illustrations of burial customs interdicted by the code. Cicero's comment on the first is that these practices quite properly are abolished and these would not be abolished, if they had not existed. Concerning the second Cicero's explanation anticipates the subsequent statute (x. 7 *infra*).

x. 7: "QVI CORONAM PARIT IPSE PECVNIAVE EIVS VIRTVTISVE ERGO ARDVVITVR⁹⁸ EI, AST EI PARENTE EIVS MORTVO DOMI FORISVE IMPOONENTVR SE⁹⁹ FRAVDE ESTO." "Who wins a crown himself or by his chattel¹⁰⁰ or because of valor, [a crown] is bestowed on him, [when he is buried or burned], but on him or on his parent, [when either is] dead, at home or abroad it shall be laid [and such imposition] shall be without risk."

This rule is based partly on Schoell's and Mommsen's restorations of what Plinius Maior and Cicero report. Cicero connects the last part of the preceding regulation (x. 6a *supra*) with what appears here, where in commenting on *ne longae coronae* he says in *Leg.*, II. 24. 60, that its significance is that rewards of honor belong to the dead (*mortui*), because the law ordains that a wreath (*corona*) won (*parta*) by valor (*virtus*) is laid (*esse imposita*) without risk (*sine fraude*)¹⁰¹ both on him (is) who has won (*peperisse*) [it] and on his parent (*eius parens*).¹⁰²

x. 8: "... NEVE AVRVM ADDITO, AT QVI¹⁰³ AVRO DENTES IVNCTI ESCVNT,¹⁰⁴ AST IM¹⁰⁵ CVM ILLO SEPELIET VRETVE, SE FRAVDE ESTO." "... Nor shall one add gold [to a corpse], but [him] whose teeth shall have been fastened with gold, but if one shall bury or shall burn him with that (gold), it shall be without risk."

This rule also has Cicero as its only witness in *Leg.*, II. 24. 60. He explains that the rest of the regulation after "ADDITO" is a humane exception. He attracts attention also to the distinction between burying and burning seen in this statute.

x. 9: "Rogum bustumve novum vetat propius LX pedes adigi aedes alienas invito domino." "It forbids a new pyre or burning-mound to be built nearer than sixty feet to

another's building, when the owner [of the latter] is unwilling."

In *Leg.*, II. 24. 61, Cicero gives this statement as evidence of the attempt to protect buildings of private citizens and he adds that the rule was made because disastrous conflagration was feared. He alone reports this regulation, most of which must have stood in the statute.

X. 10: "Forum bustumve usu capi vetat."
"It forbids the forum¹⁰⁶ or the burning-mound to be acquired by [long] usage."

That graves might be protected, Cicero claims in *Leg.*, II. 24. 61, that this provision, which appears only here, was enacted. Probably each of these words was in the provision.

XI. 1: "(Decemviri) cum x tabulas summa legum aequitate prudentiaque conscripsissent, in annum posterum xviros alios subrogaverunt . . . qui duabus tabulis iniquarum legum additis¹⁰⁷ conubia . . . ut ne plebei cum patribus essent, inhumanissima lege sanxerunt." "When they (the decemvirs) had composed ten tables of laws with greatest fairness and wisdom, they caused to be chosen in their place for the following year other decemvirs . . . who, when they had added two tables of unjust laws, by a very inhuman law ordained that marriages . . . should not be [permitted] for the plebeian[s] with the patricians."

This paraphrase is collected from *Rep.*, II. 36. 71 and 37. 63, where Cicero discusses the decemviral legislation and where he tells us that this provision afterward was repealed by the *Lex Canuleia*.¹⁰⁸

XI. 3: "E quibus (libris de rep.) unum ἱστορικόν requiris de Cn. Flavio Anni f. Ille vero ante xviros non fuit . . . Quid ergo profecit, quod protulit fastos? Occultatam putant quodam tempore istam tabulam, ut dies agendi peterentur a paucis."¹⁰⁹ "From which (books of the *Republic*) you ask about one historical point concerning Gnaeus Flavius the son of Annius. He indeed was not living before the [days of the] decemvirs . . . What advantage then did he accomplish, in that he published the [official] calendar? They (people) think that at a cer-

tain time that table was kept concealed, that the days for conducting [legal business] might be sought from few [persons]."

This rule comes from *Att.*, VI. 1. 8, where Cicero replies to a query raised by Atticus, who had supposed that in the *De Re Publica* Cicero suggested that Flavius antedated the decemvirs,¹¹⁰ and shows that Flavius had held the curule aedileship, a magistracy established long after their time.¹¹¹ The *tabula*, to which Cicero refers, we suppose, was not one of the XII TABULAE, but was a table of *dies fasti*, which Flavius is said to have published c. 304 (*loc. cit.*) and which is said to have been in the possession of the pontiffs.¹¹² In *Pro Murena*, II. 25, Cicero humorously characterizes this act as one by which Flavius pierced the eyes of the crows¹¹³ and published for the people the *fasti* [consisting of] individual days to be learned and from the clever jurisconsults themselves plundered their wisdom. All this seems to mean that somewhere in the Twelve Tables was a calendar containing the *dies fasti*, on which days the magistrates legitimately could transact legal business,—whatever may have happened to this particular provision after the promulgation of the code and ere the Flavian publication of the *fasti*.¹¹⁴

Inc. Frag. 5: "Ab omni iudicio poenaeque provocari licere indicant XII tabulae compluribus legibus." "By several laws the Twelve Tables show that it is allowed to appeal from any judgement and punishment."

While traces of this provision may be seen in IX. 2 and 4, this testimony is taken from *Rep.*, II. 31. 54, where Cicero speaks of the *ius provocationis*,¹¹⁵ after he has mentioned P. Valerius Publicola (sive Poplicola), who to the people proposed that first measure passed by the *comitia centuriata*,¹¹⁶ that no magistrate in the face of an appeal (*adversus provocationem*) execute or scourge a Roman citizen (§53). But, continues Cicero, the pontifical books declare and the augural books indicate that the right of appeal (*provocatio*) from [sentences of] the kings had existed. Cicero makes no attempt to solve this apparent discrepancy, which may be none after all, if we conjecture that the *comitia* merely

desired to put on a firm legal foundation what may have been a precarious privilege without express legal sanction during perhaps the latter part of the monarchical period.¹¹⁷

Inc. Frag. 6: "Nullum . . . vinculum ad adstringendam fidem iure iurando maiores artius esse voluerunt; id indicant leges in XII tabulis." "[Our] ancestors wished no . . . bond for binding [good] faith to be closer than a sworn oath; this the laws in the Twelve Tables indicate."

From *Off.*, III. 31. 111, comes this evidence, which Cicero uses to characterize the times wherein lived M. Atilius Regulus (*ob. c.* 249), who enshrined himself as a hero in Roman history by remaining true to his oath and by returning to Carthage, where he suffered death. Possible parallels in the Table are VI. 1, VIII. 23, IX. 3, XII. 3.

Such seems to be the contribution of Cicero to the text of the Twelve Tables.¹¹⁸ In this matter of testimony to the Tables it thus is obvious that Cicero's importance is more considerable than the casual observer perhaps has imagined.

NOTES

⁶⁷ Since the code's imperatives and prohibitives are always in the third person, perhaps "PELLEXERIS" should be emended to "PELLEXERIT."

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra* n. 10 ad fin.

⁶⁹ "ENDOQUE FLORATO" is an archaic expression for "ET IMPLORATO."

⁷⁰ The others are *Pro P. Quinctio* (81), *Pro Q. Roscio Comodo* (?76), *Pro A. Caecina* (69). Of the *Pro M. Tullio* (?71) enough remains to enable the reader to receive some instruction from it. Of these four orations only the *Pro Tullio* and the *Pro Caecina* testify to the text of the Twelve Tables.

⁷¹ The numbering of the fragments of this oration vary somewhat in the several editions. Girard gives 20. 47 for what I think must be 22. 52 in F. Schoell's edition in the Teubnerian series of *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia*, IV. 10 (Leipzig 1923). On the other hand, what Schoell numbers 20. 47 (52) reads in toto thus: . . . *si qui furem occiderit, iniuria occiderit. quam ob rem? quia ius constitutum nullum est. quid si se telo defenderit? non iniuria. quid ita? quia constitutum est . . .* sandwiched between two *lacunae*. But I think that this locus did not give Girard his "SI SE Telo DEFENDIT," which rather he chose from 23 (21). 55 (50).

⁷² The "QUE" in "ENDOQUE" comes from Paulus-Festus *op. cit.*, p. 444 T or p. 309 M.

⁷³ The idea seems to be that the slayer should shout

to show that he acts not like a murderer who endeavors to conceal his crime.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra* nn. 10 and 13.

⁷⁵ The variant *defenderit* may be defended by its occurrence in *Tull.*, 20. 47 (52), quoted *supra* in n. 71; but regular sequence requires the imperfect subjunctive, although the manuscripts often are unreliable in such matters.

⁷⁶ This query is part of the *praeiudicia* in Milo's defence for the murder of Clodius, where Cicero pleads that homicide sometimes is justifiable, a problem which is a *iuridicalis constitutio absoluta*.

⁷⁷ By *tutela Cicero* probably means *tutela male administrata*. Cf. *De Natura Deorum*, III. 30. 74; *Caec.*, 3. 7; *Rosc. Com.*, 6. 16.

⁷⁸ The degradation (*minutio existimationis*) imposed infamia on the convicted person, who, if a guardian suspected of misconduct (as in this case), was removed by the magistrate. This dismissal was called *remotio suspecti tutoris* and it followed the successful *accusatio suspecti tutoris*, which any one was entitled to bring, although the duty to make the accusation lay on a fellow-guardian, if any. The civil action wherein condemnation resulted in infamia was known as *actio famosa* and this type of infamia was defined as *mediata*.

For the disabilities peculiar to infamia and for a fairly adequate treatment of infamia in connexion with guardianship cf. R. Sohm, *Institutionen: Geschichte und System des römischen Privatrechts*, pp. 213-217, 673-674 (16th ed., Munich & Leipzig 1919). On the whole subject of infamia is still useful A. H. J. Greenidge's work on *Infamia: Its Place in Roman Public and Private Law* (Oxford 1894), in which pp. 1-40, 113-143, 154-170 are of special importance.

⁷⁹ To offer a ram to a murdered man's kindred was to prevent a prosecution for murder. Such a peace-offering to offset blood-revenge was of high antiquity in Roman custom and eventually it found its way into the code in the case of accidental homicide. Indeed, Servius traces it to the laws of Numa in his *Commentarius in Vergili Bucolica*, IV. 43 (cf. also his *Commentarius in Vergili Georgica*, III. 387). However, we must suppose that a suit against an intentional murderer rarely would be shelved by the substitution of a ram or of any other animal for the accused slayer.

⁸⁰ Between *comitium* and *ne* Cicero has *ollosque, quos censores in partibus populi locassint, but censores* at any rate could not have stood in the original rule, even if some of the other words were there, because the censorship was not created until after the code had been promulgated in 449. If we can believe Livius' account of its institution (*op. cit.*, IV. 8. 2-7), the censorship can not be traced higher than 443. Therefore, it seems that either Cicero or his source "modernized" the subject of *locassint*, which may have been *consules*, who used to supervise the civic register (Livius, *op. cit.*, IV. 8. 3-4).

⁸¹ Cicero is inaccurate here, because the *tribunatus* was instituted in 494 (Livius, *op. cit.*, II. 33. 1-3). Cf. *supra* n. 30.

⁸² In ante-Augustan Latin a *privilegium* could be a

bill or a law either in favor of or against an individual; but in the post-Augustan period it seems that it usually, if not always, had the former meaning, which has survived into our own times.

⁸³ Here and elsewhere in the following third and fourth loci; but in the second statute in *Leg.* III. 4. 11 and 19. 44, Cicero has *maximus comitatus*.

⁸⁴ In the next section (45) Cicero descends from the general to the particular in discussing his own case, viz., his exile in 58, when a *privilegium* aimed at him was passed in the *comitia tributa*, improperly on two counts: (1) that that was not the authorized assembly to act on it; (2) that no *privilegium* enacted by any assembly was valid.

⁸⁵ *Caput* means the civic or the political life and includes the rights of liberty, citizenship, family. The loss or the deprivation of these *iura* was called *demotio capitis*, which had three juridical degrees: *maxima* (liberty), *media* (citizenship), *minima* (family).

⁸⁶ To the *comitia centuriata* a citizen convicted in court on a special charge had the right of appeal (*ius provocacionis*) at least as early as the passage of the *Lex Valeria* in 509, for Cicero claims that the pontifical as well as the augural books state that the right of appeal from the regal sentences had been recognized before P. Valerius Publicola (sive Poplicola) proposed that bill for passage. Cicero argues that the tradition that the decemvirs, who had written the laws, were elected *sine provocacione* shows sufficiently that the rest of the magistrates had not been without the *ius provocacionis* (*Rep.* II. 31. 53-54). Cf. *infra* nn. 117-117 and the text *ad loc.*

It appears from Cicero's account that this decemvir, by name C. Iulius, decided not to abuse his power after the composition and before the ratification of the first ten tables; but Livius dates the incident before both the construction and the acceptance of these tables (*op. cit.*, III. 33. 9-34. 6). Diodorus (*op. cit.*, XII. 23. 1) and Dionysius (*op. cit.*, x. 56. 2) merely mention Iulius as a member of the college and contribute nothing about his modest attitude.

⁸⁷ Girard reads "MORTUM" for "MORTVVM."

⁸⁸ Here Cicero inaugurates a lengthy discussion of burial customs observed by the Romans (*Leg.*, II. 23. 58-25. 63) and in so doing he preserves apparently all which the Twelve Tables sanctioned on this subject, for toward his conclusion Cicero states (24. 61): *Haec habemus in duodecim sane secundum naturam, quae norma legis est.*

⁸⁹ The prohibition against urban burial doubtlessly descends from a primitive tribal tabu.

⁹⁰ For the Solonic statutes regarding burial rites cf. Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae*: Solon, 21. 4-5. Cicero's claim for Solon as a source sorts with the tradition that a Roman commission was sent to Greece for the purpose of studying Greek and particularly Athenian legislation ere the code's composition. Cf. Livius, *op. cit.*, III. 31. 8, 32. 6; Dionysius, *op. cit.*, x. 51. 5, 52. 4, 54. 3, 55. 5, 56. 2, 57. 5. The latter adds also Greek cities in Italy. Cf. *infra* text at nn. 91 and 92.

⁹¹ Cf. text *supra* at n. 90 and *infra* at n. 92.

⁹² Cf. *supra* text at nn. 90 and 91.

⁹³ Of these three only the first, on whom cf. *supra* n. 4 *ad fin.*, seems definitely identifiable. Acilius may be the L. Acilius Sapiens of Cicero's *Laelius*, 2. 6, and, if so, was an older contemporary of M. Porcius Cato Censorius (234-149). Aelius perhaps is L. Aelius Stilo Praeconius (c. 153-c. 73), who was one of Cicero's tutors (cf. *supra* n. 22).

⁹⁴ While in his *Variae Lectiones*, IX. 19 *ad fin.* (Antwerp 1586), M. A. Muret (1526-1585) wrote that in *vetustis libris* he found *lessus* in this locus, none of our extant codices of the *Tusculans* exhibits this word. Moreover, *nimirum* Cicero not seldom uses to introduce something obscure. So it seems that some scribe failed to understand *lessus* and for it substituted the simpler *fletus*.

⁹⁵ After these four statutes Cicero pauses in his presentation and comments that these provisions are praiseworthy and generally common to the rich along with the ordinary people, because indeed it is particularly natural that distinction of wealth be removed in death (*Leg.*, II. 23. 59).

⁹⁶ This regulation appears to have been aimed at the common custom of making the mourning last a long time by collecting and preserving some part of the corpse. When this bit, called by Cicero *os resectum* (*Leg.*, II. 22. 55), had been buried later, then the time of lamentation was terminated.

⁹⁷ By this practice we must understand that one of the ossa would be transported to Rome and there interred.

⁹⁸ This word appears in the codices as *arguitur*, *duitur*, *duiuitur*, *duitor*, *duiditur*; the restoration seems to be an archaic form from *addere*. Cf. Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia*, XXI. 3. 7.

⁹⁹ "ae" is an old form for "e" according to Paulus-Festus, *op. cit.*, p. 292 M or p. 414 T.

¹⁰⁰ By "PECVNIA" is meant *servus equusve* according to the explanation of Plinius, *loc. cit.* *supra* in n. 98. Cf. *supra* n. 37.

¹⁰¹ Perhaps "with impunity" sounds better.

¹⁰² In *Leg.*, II. 24. 60, Cicero continues his comment on this provision by remarking that he believes that, because it had become usual that for one person several funerals were made and several biers were spread, it was ordained by law that this also should not occur.

¹⁰³ "QVI" for "CVI," as often in inscriptions.

¹⁰⁴ "ESCVNT" is an early form for "ERVNT."

¹⁰⁵ "IM" is an old form for "EVM" according to Paulus-Festus, *op. cit.*, p. 103 M or p. 73 T.

¹⁰⁶ In his comment Cicero explains the *forum* as the entrance-room of a tomb (*vestibulum sepulchri*).

¹⁰⁷ Without indication Girard omits between *additis* and *conubiis* these words: "quibus, etiam quae diiunctis populis tribui solent."

¹⁰⁸ Cicero calls it a *plebiscitum*, but today it is called a *lex*. The traditional date for its passage is 445, when it was proposed by the tribune C. Canuleius. Cf. Livius, *op. cit.*, IV. 3. 1-5, 4. 5-12, 6. 2-4; Dionysius, *op. cit.*, x. 60. 5.

¹⁰⁹ This is as Girard gives it. Editors except in in-

scriptions sometimes expand abbreviations: here *f* stands for *filio*. (*libris de rep.*) is Girard's insertion, for these words are not in the Ciceronian passage whence these sentences are taken.

¹¹⁰ What Cicero wrote about Flavius there no longer is extant.

¹¹¹ The conventional date for the creation of the curule aedileship is 366 (Livius, *op. cit.*, vi. 42. 12-14), almost a century after the decemvirate. Moreover, Flavius, originally a *scriba* of App. Claudius Caecus Censorius, was *aedilis curulis* in 304 (Livius, *op. cit.*, ix. 46. 1).

¹¹² Livius, *op. cit.*, ix. 46. 5.

¹¹³ Quintilian quotes this proverb from this oration (*op. cit.*, viii. 3. 22). It seems to mean "cheated the cunning." Cf. our proverb "to catch a weasel asleep."

¹¹⁴ There still is much uncertainty about this matter, which possibly is related to xi. 2, given by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, i. 13. 21), who reports that the decemvirs proposed to the people a bill on intercalation.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *supra* n. 86.

¹¹⁶ Presumably in 509, when Publicola became consul *suffectus* *vice* L. Tarquinius Collatinus, who originally had been chosen with L. Iunius Brutus to the first consulate (Livius, *op. cit.*, i. 60. 4, ii. 2. 3-11, 8. 1-2).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Livius, *op. cit.*, i. 26. 2-12, for the Horatian episode, where after slaying Horatia, his sister, P. Horatius was haled for trial to King Tullus Hostilius (672-640), who delegated duumvirs to judge the case. When these deputies had condemned him summarily. Horatius with royal permission appealed to the people, who absolved their hero. The law read in part: "Si a duumviris provocarit, provocazione certato" (§6). Horatius asked for his appeal in the simple word *provoco*, whereupon de *provocatione certatum ad populum est* (§8).

¹¹⁸ Augustinus, *op. cit.*, xxi. 11 *ad init.*, says that Cicero writes that in the laws are eight types of penalties: fine, fetters, flagellation, retaliation, disgrace, exile, death, slavery. But since the phrase is in *legibus* and not in *XII tabulis*, we can not conjecture confidently that Cicero meant the code. For each kind, however, illustrations include these statutes: fine (*damnum*): vi. 2, 9; viii. 3, 4, 9, 11, 15a, 16b, 18b, 19, 20b; xii. 3, 4; fetters (*vincula*): iii. 3-5; viii. 10; flagellation (*verbera*): viii. 9, 10, 14; retaliation (*talio*): i. 10; viii. 2; disgrace (*ignominia*): viii. 22; ix. 2, 3; exile (*exilium*): ix. 2, 3; death (*mors*): iii. 5, 6; iv. 1; viii. 9-14, 21, 23, 24b; ix. 3-6; slavery (*servitus*): iii. 5; iv. 2; viii. 14; ix. 2, 3.

A MIDDLE WAY

(A Classical Program for Today)

CHARLES R. HART
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I SHOULD LIKE TO BEGIN with a statement which none of us should find controversial. I believe that teachers of the classics are, in the main, reasonable beings. It must be so, or we should be unworthy to stand before our students as representatives of the classical spirit; for that spirit, as you know, is made up of reasonableness and moderation, of balance and proportion.

It follows then that any program we set before the public must be marked by those same qualities of balance and proportion, of moderation and reasonableness. We cannot be guilty of an excess. We cannot demand too large a place in the curriculum; we cannot be content with one that is too small.

There is another quality in the classical spirit that is sometimes overlooked, namely, adaptability. The reasonable man, the moderate man, is adaptable. Let us adapt ourselves then, with the classics, to the needs of a changing world, to a world that has changed

in no respect so much as in education. When some of us were boys and girls—*Eheu, fugaces anni*—only an elite went to college or even high school, and most of that elite felt the impress of the classics. Today the number that attend either institution is like the sands of the sea or the leaves of the trees. He is a bold man who dares to assert that the classics have something to offer to all that vast multitude; yet I do make that assertion. Of the three principal services that the classics can render the modern world, two, I believe, concern the general student, while the third concerns a much larger number than is generally supposed. What are these services?

First, we offer the best aid to better English. How such a service is rendered in a classical course is self-evident. How is it to be rendered in a course, the object of which is primarily utilitarian? In one, perhaps, of two ways. We may conduct an elementary course to that point, wherever it may be, in which the sense of word derivation begins to stick. That point might be reached at the end of a quarter, a semester, a year or longer, according to the institution and the age con-

cerned. Such a course would not be complete in itself. It must be followed by further training under qualified teachers of English, not to mention other subjects, who will continue to expound the meaning of words. It will be noted that this course deals only with Latin. How the Greek element may be added will be shown shortly.

A second way of rendering this service is to offer a course such as I now teach at Emory and which many of you, I am sure, teach elsewhere, in scientific terminology. My course is divided into two fairly equal parts, one Latin, the other Greek. In each we consider the general structure of the language, and learn something of the declension of nouns, the conjugation of verbs, the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, cardinal and ordinal numbers, prepositions, prefixes and suffixes. In Greek my students learn the Greek alphabet; and, since the book we use gives the Greek words in English letters, they learn to write them in Greek. They gain additional credit on their examinations by their ability to write Greek terms in Greek letters.

There is a danger that the instructor in this course should become merely a purveyor of scientific information. He must remember that the words which unite to form a given term are more important than the term itself. Psychiatry is less important than *ψυχή* and *ιατρός* and gynecology than *γυνή* and *λόγος*. Please notice that the course just mentioned though utilitarian in purpose, would fit also in a cultural program.

We come now to the second service which the classics can render. We can make known the culture of the Greeks and Romans through the medium of English. This is a legitimate service which I am sure many of you render well and of which many of you know more than I, since most of my work is in the original language. This fact gives me a bias for which, frankly, I make no apology. I am unwilling to teach any course without giving it at least some flavor of Greek or Latin. For instance, in a course of Greek drama in English which I gave recently, I taught my students the

Greek alphabet. Then, if I wanted to give them the name of an author or a place, a god or a theatrical term, etc., I gave it in Greek. Thus, at the end of the course, the student had a vocabulary of several hundred words. Of what value, you may ask, are such fragments of a language? Of what value are the bits of Indian dialects which we learn in the names of our rivers, lakes, mountains and towns? The answer is that they enrich our lives. Finally, let it be said, that our work in translation fits into both a utilitarian and cultural program.

All we have said so far applies to the general student. We come now to our third service, the most important in a sense, that we can render, since it is the most profound. We can make known the language and literature of the Greeks and Romans in themselves and for themselves. This is our greatest service since it is the most profound. The highest duty, the greatest pleasure and privilege of a man who holds a tradition is to hand it on in its entirety to others. To whom can we render this service? First of all, I hope, to a select group of high-minded men who will want a classical background before going on to careers in the ministry, in literature, in the arts, and in politics. I have in mind such a man as this Old Dominion produced in Thomas Jefferson.

Next, I hope there will be a goodly number who will want to tread in our footsteps, men who will want to devote their lives to learning and transmitting the classical tradition. This is the very heart of our endeavor. Unless we can have a spiritual progeny, our species will disappear. Our personal success as teachers will be measured by our ability to send forth men on the quest that has been our lifelong pursuit. To accomplish this, we must have first of all, enthusiastic teaching. Secondly, we need financial aid in fellowships, scholarships, and attractive salaries. We need also to convince the general public, by entering into every school, of the universality of our subject. We are not a luxury, but a necessity.

There is another group which we must reach. It will be composed of students and teachers of English, the Romance languages, the Germanic languages and history. As a teacher of Romance languages for twenty-seven years, I perhaps speak with some authority when I say that no one thoroughly understands a Romance language or literature without a classical background. If I, with such a background, loitered so long in the Romance field, it was partly because I found there so many echoes of Greece and Rome. What I have said applies also to history, English, and in a lesser degree to the Germanic languages.

So far we have spoken of the specialist. Let us return now to the average man, that average man who, in a democracy, must be the chief object of our effort. Such a man, we will suppose, has no great linguistic talent, yet he might wish to continue with classical studies beyond the elementary level. Have we no courses to offer that lie within his grasp? I have such a course in mind, a class in Latin lyric poetry. I set myself a very moderate goal, a total of some one thousand lines in a ten week period. We read Catullus, Horace, Martial and Medieval hymns. I reserved the Loeb edition with its translation in the library—why does the Loeb library exist if it is not to be used? I put

other versions also at the disposal of my students. Often I read a poem myself to the class, partly for my students' sake, partly to save my nerves. I could not bear to hear a garbled translation of poetry. Too easy, you say. Perhaps, but I am sure my students will carry through life a memory of the *Ave Atque Vale* of Catullus, *Tu ne quaesieris* of Horace, the *Eroton* of Martial and the *Stabat Mater*. Besides, why should we try to reproduce in a class the mad rush of the world outside? *Disciplina* is a classical quality, to be added to those already mentioned, but what about *amoenitas* and *comitas* and, above all, *tranquillitas*? A course I am now teaching in the Roman drama, with one play read in Latin and several in English, falls into the same category.

Of elementary work, I will say only this: let us give it all the variety possible. Must elementary Latin always be synonymous with Caesar and Cicero? What might it not have meant to me in my high school days, if, along with a moderate amount of these authors, I had been introduced to Medieval tales and hymns or to a simplified version of some other classical author.

Such are the services we can render, services to the many and the few. Let us render them well. Let us take the middle way, treading it so long and so convincingly that the world will finally want to tread it too.

We See By the Papers

Edited by Grundy Steiner

EVER SINCE the production of Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* at the end of the sixteenth century classical titles and stories have adorned the history of opera. The Holland Festival of this summer (according to Daniel L. Schorr in the *NEW YORK TIMES*, August 13) provided no exception to this tradition, for its "outstanding event" was the première of Hendrik Andriessen's "Philomela."

This opera, with Dutch libretto by the poet Jan Engelman, although commissioned originally

by the Dutch government for the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Wilhelmina in 1948, became available for production only this year.

The text, as might be surmised, is based upon the story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus as recounted by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (VI, 440 ff.) and, we trust, gives the singer of the title role a chance to do the modern equivalent of melodious warbling even though the report runs that there are no arias inserted artificially and that "not the slightest trill detracts from the mounting tragedy."

INTEREST IN THE LADIES

WE NOTED last month that the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE* had used a cut of the Winged Victory of Samothrace to typify the spirit of vision and poetry in connection with modern

problems. The same statue (albeit a different photograph) appeared again on August 20. The occasion was the recent discovery (by Jean Charbonneau with the American expedition led by Dr. Karl Lehmann) of one finger and the right hand (without fingers) of this statue, a discovery which is thought by Dietrich von Botner, assistant curator at the Metropolitan Museum, to lend support to the idea that the right hand originally supported a heavy wreath either of metal or of marble.

This news note prompted Vera Sylvester of Boston, Mass., to query the editor of the *TIMES MAGAZINE* for information about the Aphrodite of Cyrene. The editor, on September 3, published her letter and a photograph of the statue, summarized the story of its discovery in 1913 and then added, "Scholars, who feel that, because of the lateness of her discovery, she has not yet reached the fame she deserves, believe she was carved in the First Century B.C."

This in turn prompted G. W. Elderkin of West Southport, Me., (September 24) to write a letter to point out some of the late Hellenistic traits of the Aphrodite of Cyrene and to compare her unfavorably with the lady from Cnidus.

Finally (vaguely in connection with these ladies of Greek art) it should be reported that, in the September 3 issue, two writers of letters heckled one Miss H. Simpson who had protested to the *TIMES* because the word "bomb" is of feminine gender in French. The editor, perhaps out of respect to the anniversary of the women's right to vote, tried to calm the situation by pointing out that "the original Greek word, *bombos*, (a deep hollow sound), was masculine and remained masculine in the Latin derivative, *bombus*."

HIPPOCRATES STREAMLINED

THE WORLD MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, according to the *NEW YORK TIMES* (September 3), is in the mood for trimming from the Hippocratic oath a substantial number of sonorous phrases and references to Greek deities. The modern physician, for example, would be asked to say, "I solemnly pledge myself to consecrate my life to the service of humanity," instead of "I swear by Apollo the physician and Aesculapius and Hygieia and Panacea; invoking all the gods and goddesses to be my witnesses that I will fulfill this oath and this written covenant to the best of my powers and of my judgment."

This and other alterations should not be regarded as sacrilege, if only because Hippocrates

himself would probably be astonished to discover all the phrases in the traditional oath (which is certainly later than he) and, in fact, might be surprised to find an oath bearing his name at all.

THUCYDIDES UPHELD

WHILE THE DOCTORS were growing restive about swearing by Apollo and Aesculapius and were feeling cramped by the style attributed to Hippocrates, Thucydides was more than holding his own in the sight of the *WALL STREET JOURNAL* (August 25). Mr. H. Rey Wolf of Germantown (Philadelphia) High School sends excerpts from "The Mirror of Thucydides" by William Henry Chamberlain, wherein Mr. Chamberlain remarks that Thucydides' "description of the conflicts of his day clearly reflects many facing today's civilization," and concludes his discussion with a pat on the back for classical studies: "The amazingly clear mirror which Thucydides holds up to our own time is one of many reasons for regretting the decline of classical studies in the United States. A man's judgment is sobered and ripened and enriched if he understands how many of the international relations problems of his own time were posed hundreds of years before the birth of Christ."

CHILDREN'S GAMES

A STEADY STREAM of references to things classical comes from the *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE*. The point of departure on August 13 proved to be a reproduction of "Children's Games," a 1560 painting by Pieter Brueghel the Elder (an item in the Vienna Museum collection), a painting which had prompted Photographer Arthur Leipzig to go out and take pictures of nine children's games on the streets of New York to prove that games in 1950 are not much different from those in 1560. The commentator for the *TIMES*, A. B. L., obviously was delighted then to point out ancient parallels for both in Homer, Vergil, and Ovid, and on Greek vases. He suggests, also, that when Petronius tells how "one lad climbs on another's back and says, 'Bucca, bucca, quot sunt hic?'—'Buck, buck, how many is this?' he is really describing the game of Buck-buck or Johnny-on-the-Pony exactly as it is played today" (cf. *Sat.* 64, 12 and Friedlaender's comment upon the passage). It would appear, as he notes, that those games played by Gargantua in his "fabulous childhood" are of pretty timeless stuff—despite the efforts of toy manufacturers to empty papa's purse.

PLUTARCH IN KOREA

OUR LOYAL CONTRIBUTOR, Morris Rosenblum of Brooklyn, N. Y., forwards Joseph Alsop's column "Matter of Fact" from the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of August 23. Mr. Alsop had just experienced a bad day during a rough stage of the Korean fighting when enemy snipers were particularly troublesome in mountainous terrain. That evening he had glanced through a pocket edition of Plutarch (*somebody still carries one!*) and had read with true understanding of Metellus' difficulties with the wild Iberian tribes. This passage (Sertorius xii fin., in the Dryden translation) struck home: "Metellus had had experience in battles fought by regular legions of soldiers, fully armed and drawn up in due order, admirably trained for encountering and overpowering an enemy who came to close combat, but entirely unfit for climbing among the hills, and competing incessantly with the swift attacks and retreats of fleet mountaineers, or to endure hunger and thirst, or to live exposed to wind and weather, without fire or covering." Substitute the name of General Walker for that of Metellus, remarks, Mr. Alsop, and "You will then have the most succinct possible statement of one of our main difficulties in Korea. . ."

TESTIMONIALS

A STORY about Judge Medina from the SATURDAY EVENING POST (August 12), sent by Professor Cora E. Lutz, recounts the judge's opinions about the current state of prelegal education. "He feels that in subjecting the prelegal student to law, economics and the like, the colleges are in error. He is all for strong doses of the humanities, especially Latin. The chore of translating difficult authors like Tacitus and Suetonius into exact English, he holds, develops traints of perseverance, industry and attention to small details, and stimulates the creative imagination."

And Miss Essie Hill of Little Rock contributes two clippings from the ARKANSAS GAZETTE. The first (from late June) is Frank Colby's column "Better Speech" in which he had asserted, "It is downright silly . . . to keep up the pretense that English is based on Latin. . . . Basically and grammatically English is a Germanic . . . tongue. The only thing Latin about English is that about 15 per cent of the words are of Latin origin. Other elements are: French, 35 per cent; Anglo-Saxon, 26. . . . No, English is not Latin, nor anything like Latin. And to teach otherwise is damaging nonsense."

The second clipping is a rebuttal, in the form

of a letter to the editor, from T. A. Daley, Professor of Modern Foreign Languages at A. M. and N. College, and its argument is sound and simple: What Mr. Colby "apparently overlooks is the fact that French is basically Latin. On the conquest of Gaul . . . Latin . . . gradually superseded and supplanted the native Celtic, and came in course of time to be known as French. One may therefore say that not 15 per cent but 15 plus 35 per cent of English words are of Latin origin." Professor Daley then points out that the influence of Latin is not merely upon vocabulary but has also been profound upon English grammar, and that "Our rhetoric or sentence structure is more nearly Ciceronian than Nietzschean." He draws the usual distinction that Latin provides the vocabulary whereby the more complex and literary ideas are expressed in English, and concludes with a *mot* to counteract Colby's final barb: "English is English, of course; if it is not Latin, it certainly is not German."

WITH THE REVIEWERS

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW (July 2) quoted a clause from Thomas Wolfe, *Look Homeward Angel*: ". . . that we can never betray, on this leaden earth, the apple tree, the singing, and the gold?" Professor Leslie F. Smith of the University of Oklahoma (who sends the clipping) observes that the words "the apple tree, the singing, and the gold" are a quotation (ultimately from Euripides) coming either directly from Gilbert Murray's translation of the *Hippolytus*, or else indirectly from the same source, via the heading of John Galsworthy's short story *The Apple-Tree* which quotes this phrase immediately after the title.

In the same periodical on August 13 Dr. Frank G. Slaughter made appropriate bows in the direction of the ancients in a review of Dr. Franz Alexander's *Psychosomatic Medicine*. Specifically, he cites the rite of *incubatio* in the temples of Asklepios and Plato's refusal to separate the soul from the body as evidence that the ancients likewise understood that the emotions affect human health, and aimed certain of their treatments at the emotional sources of the disease conditions.

CHAFF

EARLY IN AUGUST, in Rome, around the track of the Foro Italico, according to a clipping from TIME (August 7) forwarded by Professor Salyer, a chariot race (with full ancient Roman paraphernalia) was run off. This was the second

annual chariot race sponsored by the Rome press club, and the winner was the driver of the blue-and-white chariot of the Christian Democratic newspaper *La Libertà*. There was only one garish, modern note about the race: each chariot was adorned with a sign to advertise one of Rome's leading newspapers.

Finally, in connection with a sheath of clippings on various topics, Maude E. Bryan, teacher of Latin and English in the Reading (Michigan) high school, adds a report which brings to mind a cartoon of several years back (probably "Life's Darkest Moment," by Webster) which por-

trayed a meek (and grieved) little history professor (annual salary \$3300) listening to a quiz program whereon a simpering housewife (with abundant aid from the nincompoop quiz-master) was stuttering out the name of the discoverer of America to win the grand prize of \$5000. Miss Bryan's report tells of some young lady who, on the "Break the Bank" program of May 3, won \$500 for identifying that city which was buried by Vesuvius and which was "made famous in a book!"

Fellow teacher, did your knowledge of the aorist optative get you that much cash last month?

Classical Articles In Non-Classical Periodicals . . .

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES 65 (1950).—(February: 114-115) Calvin S. Brown, "Lucan, Bacon, and Hostages to Fortune." It "seems highly probable" that Lucan (vii, 662) was the source of Francis Bacon's famous aphorism, "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune." (March: 183-187) Robert A. Pratt, "A Note on Chaucer's *Lollius*." Evidence from two medieval manuscripts supports the theory that a misunderstanding of Horace (*Epistles* I, 2, 1) occasioned Chaucer's mention of a certain *Lollius* as the author of a work on the Trojan War. (200-202) William Peterson, "Satire in Fielding's *An Interlude Between Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, and Mercury*." A brief discussion of this neglected sketch, which is "clearly a companion piece of *Eurydice*." (April: 243-246) Robert A. Pratt, "A Note on Chaucer and the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury." Observations on "a series of parallels between portions of Book VIII of John's treatise and a passage near the close of the Wife of Bath's Prologue." (May: 293-297) Ernest H. Wilkins, "Letters Addressed to Petrarch." An attempt to furnish, "for the first time, a complete listing of the extant published letters addressed to Petrarch." (297-300) Ernest H. Wilkins, "The Miscellaneous Letters of Petrarch." A supplementary "list of the miscellaneous letters of Petrarch." (June: 379-383) Arnold G. Reichenberger, "Boscán and Ovid." Indebtedness of Boscán's "psychological transformation of Musaeus' compact epic poem on Hero and Leander" to Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*.

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY 11 (1950).—(March: 3-6) Catharine W. Peltz, "Thomas Campion, An Elizabethan Neo-Classicist." Campion's classicism in comparison with Ben Jonson's.

MODERN PHILOLOGY 47 (1950).—(February: 145-151) Bernard Weinberg, "Translations and Commentaries of Longinus, *On the Sublime*, to 1600: A Bibliography." Including two lost translations, an undated manuscript translation, and dated texts, translations, and commentaries.

MUSICA DISCIPLINA 4 (1950).—(Fascicle 1: 3-42) Jacques Handschin, "The *Timaeus* Scale." An elaborate study of Plato's exposition of the musical and cosmical scale in the *Timaeus* (35 A ff.). In summary, "Plato, not having contented himself with dividing the octave but having divided also the twelfth, has offended against octave periodicity, and the consequence is that if we followed him strictly, we should transgress the limits of diatonicism. It can be doubted whether Plato was aware of all the consequences of what he had said."

NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW 135 (1950).—(June: 34-38) Sir William Fitzgerald, "The Past and Future of Jerusalem." A brief historical sketch.

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER 147 (1950).—(May: 327-334) C. M. Woodhouse, "Science and Humanism: An Unreal Debate?" The essay aims to demonstrate "the unreality of the conventional dichotomy between science and humanism." An historical illustration, traced in detail, is "the story of the struggle for the establishment of Greek as a respectable study, both before and after the Reformation in western Europe. . . . Greek eventually won the struggle

on its own merits, not as a literary treasure-house, but as a source of lost learning. In other words, . . . the impulse to learn Greek was scientific rather than humanist. . . ." Science and humanism should be regarded "rather as two complementary approaches to the same field, each co-extensive with the whole. Thus construed, the guiding rule of both might be found in the famous words of Terence: 'Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.' In this context 'homo' includes both scientist and humanist; and 'humani' means both human and humane."

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY 28 (1949).—(October: 477-489) Robert H. West, "Milton and Michael Psellus." A study of Milton's indebtedness in *Paradise Lost* to the eleventh-century Byzantine demonologist "would seem to indicate that he used Psellus only as a convenience to help him make the marvellous probable, as Addison notes." (490-495) Henry J. Webb, "English Translations of Caesar's *Commentaries* in the Sixteenth Century." Four editions of portions of Caesar's *Commentaries* in translation were published in sixteenth century England: John Tiptoft's (1530), Arthur Golding's (1565 and 1590), and Sir Clement Edmondes' (1600). (VOLUME 29—1950: January, 65-70) Harry J. Leon, "Classical Sources of the Garden Scene in *Richard II*." The "motif of the beheading of the flowers" is traced through classical and medieval authors.

PMLA (PUBLICATIONS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA 65 (1950).—(March: 240-248) Linton C. Stevens, "How the French Humanists of the Renaissance Learned Greek." The discussion emphasizes, particularly, the difficulties encountered. Although the French humanists "courageously faced the hostility of theologians, the persecution of scholastic professors, and the rigors of poverty, they discovered the greatest obstacles to their determination in the lack of books and manuscripts and the scarcity of Greek teachers. The early scholars of the generation of Budé and Erasmus were forced to teach themselves, and while doing so they gathered the materials and laid the foundation upon which later scholars might build." (328-329) Elizabeth Jackson, "Milton's *Sonnet XX*." The note includes a brief comment on "the Horatian echoes." (June: 550-567) Edward Williamson, "Form and Content in the Development of the Italian Renaissance Ode." A study of the kind and the degree of classical influence.

POPULAR ASTRONOMY 57 (1949).—(October) Edgar W. Woolard, "The Impress of Past Ages in Modern Astronomy." (December) Edgar W. Woolard, "The Evolution of Fundamental Astronomical Concepts as Reflected in the Terminology of Astronomy." Among present-day astronomical terms "Greek, Latin, Arabic, and traces of other languages are represented. . . . A large proportion of the technical terms that have been transmitted from ancient times had their source in Greek astronomy. . . ."

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY 57 (1950).—(Summer: 182-196) A. E. R. Boak, "Constantine and Rome." An appraisal of "some of the more important aspects" of Constantine's public policy and "their effects upon the economic and political decline of the Roman Empire in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries." Constantine was "a dominating figure who left an indelible imprint upon the history of the late Roman Empire. . . . But it cannot be denied that many of his policies hastened rather than delayed the process of disintegration which he strove so hard and so conscientiously to arrest."

REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES I (New Series, 1950).—(April: 114-125) F. N. Lees, "Coriolanus, Aristotle, and Bacon." The study suggests that there is manifest in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* "a distinct assimilation of certain passages in the *Politics* of Aristotle; and . . . that this is most probably traceable to the first English translation of that work, printed in London in 1598." Bacon's essay *On Friendship* (1625) reveals a similar familiarity with Aristotle's work.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY 71 (1950).—(January 28: 49-51) William E. Gwatkin, Jr., "The Classics in a General Humanities Course in College." A discussion of some aspects of the problem presented. "As classics teachers we are called to get in and teach when and if a general humanities course comes our way . . . in the domain of Latin and Greek literature only those trained in the classical languages and literatures can do the job with the competency which we desire in American higher education. . . ." (May 20: 305-308) Leo L. Rockwell, "Modern Languages in General Education." In part, a fervent apology for the study of foreign languages in general.

(Continued on Page 158)

BOOK REVIEWS

GREGORY OF TOURS

McDERMOTT, WILLIAM C., *Gregory of Tours: Selections from the Minor Works*: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press (1949). Pp. xii + 109. \$2.50.

McDERMOTT'S CHARMING little book is the fourth of five volumes to appear, three in 1949, in "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History," Third Series, edited until his untimely death in October 1949 at the early age of forty-eight by John L. LaMonte. That the series will recover from the serious loss sustained in LaMonte's death is now guaranteed by the recent appointment of McDermott himself to be his successor as editor. We may also announce to the learned public that the basis of the series, hitherto largely confined to medieval history, will be broadened to include classical subjects and that at an early date McDermott will publish his own edition of the *Panegyricus* to Trajan.

Gregory of Tours (ca. 538-593) is best known for his celebrated *History of the Franks* which has been available since 1927 in an admirable English translation by O. M. Dalton, with an introduction of 447 pages and a monumental commentary. The minor works, however, have, with some few fragmentary exceptions, not been accessible in English dress until now, nor are they here completely published by McDermott. Instead he has given us, with the same lavish care upon the explanatory aids for the Latinless reader, five typical selections from the *opera minora* which, in the opinion of the reviewer, are arranged in order of ascending interest, at least for the classical scholar, if not for the student of the medieval church. The book opens with eight short prefaces taken from the *In gloria martyrum beatorum*, the *De passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris*, the *Liber vitae patrum*, the *In gloria confessorum*, and from each of the four books of the *De virtutibus beati Martini*

episcopi. Then follows the whole of the first book of the last-named work, the longest selection (26-40), and hard on its heels come two biographical sketches from the seventh book of the *Liber vitae patrum*, those on St. Gallus of Clermont and St. Gregory, Bishop of Langres, both close relatives of their biographer. Next comes an English version of Gregory's translation or adaptation of an earlier Greek or, more probably, Syriac form of the famous story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, a fine tale in any case. Finally, there are the two lists of the Seven Wonders of the World, as Gregory counted them. Taking it all in all, this is not a very bulky anthology and many readers will regret that McDermott, having taken the trouble to master the voluminous literature on this bishop of Tours, did not give us the whole of the minor works or at least a larger sampling. The excuse is that much of the rejected material is repetitious hagiography, and doubtless complain on this score of brevity will be more strident from students of medieval history and of the church than from classical scholars. Furthermore, he who wishes more of Gregory can always be referred to Dalton's magnificent volumes. Moreover, it is probable that the hurried reader, particularly one without Latin, will here be able to get a good picture not only of the mind of the writer but of life in Merovingian Gaul in the last half of the sixth century.

For the classical scholar who has not hitherto dipped into Gregory of Tours it may come as a distinct shock to see how greatly the world had changed since the end of antiquity. The only pagan writer with whom Gregory shows acquaintance is Vergil and he mentions him only with sharp disapprobation. The Seven Wonders, one might have thought, would show definite classical influence, but in Gregory's hands they are radically different from any of the familiar lists: the first list—(1) Noah's Ark; (2) Babylon; (3) Solomon's Temple; (4) the tomb

of a Persian king (the Mausoleum?); (5) the Colossus of Rhodes; (6) the theater of Heraclea (unidentifiable), and (7) the Pharos of Alexandria, or, if you prefer, the second list—(1) the tide; (2) vegetation; (3) the phoenix; (4) Mt. Aetna; (5) the springs of Grenoble; (6) the sun, and (7) the phases of the moon. It must not be thought, however, that Gregory is much interested in science. For him the one absorbing passion was the church and this only as a bulwark against the violence of the time and exemplified by the miraculous character of its saints. Yet he shows considerable skill in depicting contemporary scenes and he is an honest, if, at times, a mistaken chronicler. A churchman and not a theologian, *par excellence*, and above all, a good reporter of what he saw.

Here and there are matters that suggest comment. St. Gregory's frugal habit of providing for himself an inferior kind of bread and wine and a better grade for his guests will recall to many, by the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*, the opposite practice of Virro in Juvenal's fifth satire (24-37). Certain Germanic tribes, we are told, were accustomed to dedicate at their shrines representations of the ailing parts of their bodies, much as modern Italians do at the Church of Sant'Agostino in Rome. There is a peculiarly acute passage (5) on Gregory's accuracy in quotation: "He frequently used his sources carelessly, but in fairness to him it must be said that this seems to have been due to quoting from memory. This trait was very common in ancient and medieval times; only in recent days do we attempt to reproduce quotations verbatim, including faulty punctuation and bad grammar." How much paper would have been saved had scholars given due consideration to quoting from memory! Yet it must be remembered that there were, for example, widely differing Biblical texts (the *Itala*) in frequent use. A case in point is Gregory's use (p. 91, n. 19) of I Kings 6.15-35 where McDermott is convinced that the "variations from the text of the Vulgate indicate Gregory's use of an older Latin version."

Gregory, like Arnobius before him, calls

attention to the subject of nouns of doubtful gender (see my note, *CJ* 42 [1947] 474 ff., and my commentary on Arnobius, p. 296, n. 285). There is a most interesting passage on which McDermott restrains his hand in the commentary (56): "At that time one of my monks, Armentarius, was well learned in the spiritual writings, since it was so easy for him to understand the modulation of sounds that you would think that he did not learn them but wrote them." Evidently, the monk made his masses clearly intelligible to all who assisted. On the interesting description of the hot springs at Grenoble (98) we may add that it is possible that the description refers to the present-day baths at Uriage, eight miles southeast of Grenoble, where according to the 1914 Baedeker for Southern France (417 f.) there is an "abundant spring impregnated with chloride of sodium and sulphur (80°). The water, known to the Romans, is highly tonic and purgative; it specially suits delicate persons and children, and is much used as a cure for nervous and cutaneous diseases." Something might also have been said about the striking resemblance, hardly causal, between the hagiographic sketches and certain types of ancient eulogistic biographies.

The way of the translator, like that of the transgressor, is hard, and the translator of Gregory must steer a mid course between the Scylla of unintelligible Latin place names and the Charybdis of French forms which connote too much to modern ears. Following the good example of Dalton, McDermott has been less fearful of Charybdis, but at one point he has been sucked in by the river Liger (41), though he escaped it elsewhere (58, n. 107). The only place where the French forms produce startling results is in a sentence (94) which contains in close proximity an allusion to Mt. Aetna and another to Grenoble. But perhaps I am one of the few to whom Grenoble bears connotations of summer schools in the French language! Another difficulty is presented by certain ecclesiastical terms which have a different meaning from their classical equivalents. Such a one is the word *sacerdos* which

means "priest" in classical Latin but mostly in church Latin is the equivalent of *episcopus*, as it certainly is on p. 64 and perhaps elsewhere (see Souter's *Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* [Oxford 1949] 360).

Finally, there is a slip in the title of Bardenhewer's great work which is *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* and not *Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur* (103), as so many are inclined to make it. I do not, moreover, know just what "a larger rhetorician" is (p. 89, n. 6)—perhaps the note underwent some revision in the editing.

In a graceful paraphrase of Catullus 1 this *libellus* is dedicated to the veteran scholar, Roland Grubb Kent, to whom the reviewer would also like to record his equally great debt.

G. E. McCracken

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JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND

BUTLER, H. E. (ed.), *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, translated from the Latin with introduction, notes and appendices: New York, Oxford University Press (1949). Pp. xxviii+167 (139 in double numbering). \$5.00 ("Medieval Classics")

CHRONICLES ARE COMMONLY and often rightly regarded as dull stuff, but here is a happy exception. Any one who opens these pages with misgivings will soon have them allayed. Jocelin, a resident of Brakelond Street in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, had his eyes open when he joined the Benedictines of St. Edmund's in 1173, and kept them observantly open during the decades of his cloistered life. When he formed the resolve to chronicle the notable doings of Samson, the stalwart abbot of the monastery, he instinctively leaned to the Herodotean rather than the Thucydidean style and pattern. *Quod vidi et audivi scribere curavi quedam mala interserens ad cautelam, quedam bona ad usum*. Such were his opening words, and away he went with a busy quill, setting down the *mala* and *bona* of the abbot's and the abbot's activity with color, humor, vivacity,

naïveté commingled with shrewdness, and close observation. Herodotean traits, these; but since Jocelin hero-worships his central personage, Abbot Samson, Carlyle did well to call him Jocelin Boswell.

Jocelin's quick ear took note of habits of speech: King Henry II swore *per oculos Dei*, but Abbot Samson always *per os Dei*. In his own habits of speech Jocelin allowed himself an occasional mild and harmless pun: "As the feast of St. Hilary drew near, the Abbot went with much hilarity to Coventry" (p. 95). Amusingly he writes that his brother monks once gave way to Samson in a dispute "as though they feared for their shirts" (*tanquam timerent tunice sue*, f. 156). Great numbers of Anglo-Saxon intrusions appear in his Latin: e.g., *fodercorn*, *werra* (war), *acra* (acre), *cnipulus* (knife). Writers of the twelfth century were inveterate users of quotations—Jocelin perhaps less so than most. His quotations, never drawn from the church fathers, are often from the Bible and almost thirty times from the Latin classics: Ovid ten times (including the scandalous poems), Horace eight times, Lucan thrice, Vergil twice, and others scattered. Corroborated again is Traube's dictum that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were an *aetas Ovidiana*.

A recent book has called the twelfth century the Golden Middle Age. Monastic life in England was flourishing, and the abbot of St. Edmund's was a feudal landlord and minor statesman as well as prelate. Samson's heavy burden of cares brought flecks of gray to his russet beard. There were shenanigans in his feudal domains and in the abbey itself; and the intrepid abbot, a worthy successor of his Biblical namesake, stormily swore *per os Dei* and laid down the law or deployed counter-shenanigans. The great church over which he presided was at least five hundred feet long, beautifully decorated by successive abbots, and accounted among the grandest structures in England. Today St. Edmund's Abbey and the adjoining monastic cloisters are, except for the Norman Tower, as thoroughly leveled in ruins as are the buildings that once surrounded the Roman Forum.

Children play in the dust where once the formidable Samson with his *frons Catonis* strode through vast buildings around the shrine of the martyred St. Edmund.

Chroniclers without number burgeoned in the twelfth century, and most of them were monks, like Friar Jocelin. The chronicle of the doings of Abbot Samson, best preserved in a Harleian manuscript of the British Museum lay forgotten and unpublished until 1840, when the Camden Society brought it out. Carlyle pounced upon it almost immediately and trumpeted its praise from the housetops in *Past and Present* (1843); the "Past" of that distinguished book consists of a Carlylesque paraphrase of "Jocelin Boswell." But, unimpressed by Carlyle's paean, the anthologists of medieval Latin unanimously omit Jocelin (Harrington, Coulton, Clark and Game, Beeson, Waddell, Gaselee, and now Charles W. Jones in his new *Medieval Literature in Translation*). At any rate the "Medieval Classics" of the Oxford University Press are auspiciously inaugurated by such a lively work as Jocelin's *Chronicle*. Welcome also is the large, clear print, a real improvement over the two previous printings of Jocelin.

Let the reader omit the next paragraph, contributed by Carlyle's abominated Professor Dryasdust. The veteran translator and editor, H. E. Butler, now past seventy, was already known for his versions of Apuleius, Propertius, Quintilian, and Jocelin's contemporary Giraldus Cambrensis. In this book he has allowed few misprints: "wordly" for "worldly" (p. 22), *oblactaverunt* for *oblectaverunt* (f. 130), *omnibus* (f. 136), *eum eo* for *cum eo* (f. 136 v). But I have noted fifteen errors of translation, mostly due to carelessness (f. 155, *nocte proxima post festum*, "on the night before the feast;" f. 155 v, xiii, "twelve") or oversight (f. 140 v, *tam sollicitus quam timidus* wholly omitted; f. 160, of four sentences beginning with *Tantum* one is dropped in the translation). Inexplicably wrong is "had deformed her" for *eam vi oppresserat* (f. 133); the context bears out the ordinary meaning of the phrase, "had deflowered her." Aside from the errors of

omission the translation is good indeed; and so are the introduction and the twenty-two brief appendices on minutiae of contemporary English history.

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EURIPIDES' ALCESTIS

VAN LENNEP, D. F. W., *Euripides, Selected Plays. With Introduction, Metrical Synopsis and Commentary. Part I. The Alkestis*: Leiden, E. J. Brill (1949). Pp. 156. 6.50 guilders.

THIS ATTRACTIVE, well-edited text of the *Alkestis* forms the first volume of a projected series of selected plays of Euripides. It contains 45 pages of introductory matter, which is followed by the Greek text (based on Murray's Oxford Euripides) with explanatory notes in English at the foot of each page. It is pleasant to note that in a work printed and written in the Netherlands the English is clear and eminently readable; in addition, there are few misprints, most of which are easy to correct, although one or two errors in the Greek may cause the unwary reader trouble. The reader to whom the editor's commentary is addressed seems to be the advanced college or graduate student in Greek, and the following remarks are based on this assumption.

Dr. Van Lennep's introduction is perhaps the most interesting feature of the work; it presents the best kind of intelligent and acute literary criticism, designed to bring out those features of Euripides' treatment of the legend which most clearly reveal his distinctive outlook on life and his delightfully unconventional use of traditional materials. After treating briefly other modern discussions of the *Alkestis*-myth, Van Lennep analyzes the play in considerable detail. His general thesis is that "what Euripides wants to show is not so much how the extraordinary events with which the myth deals came to pass as how the people to whom they occurred reacted to them." In general, your reviewer would agree that this is the sanest

and most rewarding approach to almost any play of Euripides. It would only spoil Van Lennep's subtle and witty discussion to attempt a summary here, but we may note that he stresses not only the self-centered attitude of Admetus in accepting his wife's sacrifice but also Alcestis' insistence on full recognition of her merits and nobility. The whole introduction might well be recommended to readers of Euripides in English for its excellent treatment of the ancient playwright's amazing modernity in the psychological analysis of character.

The commentary that accompanies the Greek text is largely devoted to literary interpretation; most of the notes deal with exegesis of the plot, call attention to typical bits of Euripidean treatment, or give necessary explanations of stage action. Grammatical comment is reduced to a minimum, a fact which suggests that this edition is more suited to advanced students than to beginners. Nonetheless, in the opinion of this reviewer, if adequate class instruction and explanation be provided, students will profit more from such an edition than from the traditional American college text-book, with its mass of grammatical references, italicized translations of difficult passages, and miscellaneous antiquarian lore. With Van Lennep's guidance, the alert undergraduate should find Euripides as significant a dramatist, as contemporary and as meaningful in his view of life, as (let us say), Tennessee Williams or Maxwell Anderson. Scholars and teachers will look forward with keen anticipation to further volumes in this series.

CHARLES T. MURPHY

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GREEK ANTHOLOGY

Diehl, Ernestus, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Fasc. 1, Third Edition: Leipzig, Teubner (1949). Pp. ii+144. \$2.90.

THIS VOLUME, the first fascicle of a projected third edition of a famous and almost unprocureable book, was in process of prepara-

tion by Professor Diehl at the time of his death. It contains the work of the elegiac poets from Callinus to Cleon, excluding Theognis and such writers as Archilochus and Simonides who are not classed as primarily elegists.

Because of the death of its editor, this new edition, as we are told by R. Beutler on behalf of the publishers, is not that which Diehl himself would have produced. Changes are few. The bulk of the additions are to be found in the commentary, where citations of learned publications have been largely brought up to date (additions later than 1942 being understandably rare).

Notable changes or additions, apart from these, are as follows. There are four (or five) new fragments: one couplet from the *Smyrnesia* of Mimnermus, here as frg. 12A; two anonymous hexameters, as *Adesp.* frgs. 6A and 12A (the latter much supplied); and four mutilated lines of elegy, plus some twenty-two mostly very badly mutilated lines of what appears to be another elegy, together under *Adesp.* 20. All these are from papyrus. Further, there is a new alignment of the fragments of Tyrtaeus 1; and a fuller, more consecutive reading of Sophocles 4, through rereading and supplement of the inscription. Elsewhere, readings different from those of the second edition are occasionally suggested or considered in the commentary, as in the case of Solon 4.8 and Mimnermus 12.5, but only once is a new conjecture taken into the text, *laws* for *δμῶς* in Tyrtaeus 8.6 (a bothersome misprint in Tyrtaeus 7.29 of the second edition has been set right). In some cases, conjectures not marked as such in the second edition are now designated by pointed brackets, as for instance in Xenophanes 3.2.

Though this fascicle is not substantially different from its previous edition, it and its companion fascicles will be most welcome. Format has been changed, the page size enlarged, and for the bold letters of the second edition we have the type of earlier Teubners.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE

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BYZANTINE EGYPT

JOHNSON, ALLEN CHESTER, and LOUIS C.

WEST, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*: Princeton, Princeton University Press (1949). Pp. viii + 335 \$5.00.

IN 1936, Professor Johnson gave us an excellent economic history of Egypt during the Roman period (*Roman Egypt*, Volume 2 of Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*). Now, in collaboration with Louis West, he has carried the story through the Byzantine Age down to the end of Roman rule in Egypt.

There are four studies. The first is a careful description of the various types of land-holdings found in Egypt in the period under discussion: the imperial properties, the large private holdings (which, the authors feel, never grew as big as the great baronial estates of the West), the ecclesiastical lands. Next, a section on The People recounts the gradual growth of the village at the expense of the city, describes the various forms of commerce and industry that were carried on, and provides a list of prices which includes everything from the $1\frac{1}{2}$ carats it cost to buy an embroidered tunic to the 80,000 solidi budgeted by Justinian for transporting the yearly requisition of wheat from Alexandria to Constantinople. An extremely interesting chapter on Defense brings together all the evidence available on the price the Byzantine Empire had to pay for maintaining its military establishment in Egypt. A final section on Taxation lists and explains (where possible) the myriad taxes levied on Egypt and the methods of assessing and collecting them.

The approach in this book is somewhat different from that used in *Roman Egypt*. The latter was designed, at least in part, as a tool which could be used by the general historian. The present work is definitely for the specialist in papyrology and even the expert in economic history, if a non-papyrologist, will find it hard going. Every paragraph bristles with technical terms and no quarter is given in the form of glossaries or helpful bibliography or the like. But once we crack this forbidding shell, we find inside a kernel

of infinite value. The authors have amassed for us a collection of source material so fabulously rich that it will for years provide the foundation for future studies of all sorts in the Byzantine period. We must be forever grateful to them for the backbreaking effort it undoubtedly cost to accumulate this vast store of evidence. They have wrung the papyri dry, combed the relevant sections of the *Corpus Juris*, and worked through many of the Church Fathers. Sometimes they have contented themselves with simply listing the available source material; commodity prices, for example, are merely set down (175-194) without any analysis. Elsewhere, the material is discussed, often in great detail. In these portions signs of inconsistency and hurried work every now and then appear. For example, in discussing transportation costs, the authors first state that they prefer not to include the evidence provided by the newly discovered fragments of Diocletian's Edict (cf. TAPA 71 (1940) 157-174, esp. 163) since they are not convinced that these are actually part of the Edict (p. 140), and then, in the course of their discussion, absentmindedly proceed to use them (160). On one page (160) they carefully point out that some figures given in Cod. Th. 13.5.7 may refer to either modii or artabs, on another (139) they assume that artabs are intended. Again, they mention that in a certain passage of Edict XIII, Justinian may have meant either medimni or artabs (139); later on they assume he meant artabs (160 and 240; cf. 236 "presumably artabae"). They think that "the price of grain seems to hold fairly steadily at about 10 artabs per solidus" (235, n. 27; cf. 160), but their list of wheat prices (177-178) shows variations from 5 to 24 artabs per solidus; this fluctuation in price is so constant that we find it a century later in the early Arab period as well (cf. A. Grohmann, "Zum Weizenpreis im arabischen Ägypten," Bull. Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 30 (1931) 541-3). In arriving at the size of a soldier's ration they assume that a *diploum* held six sextarii (227-228) although a qualifying note (227, n. 59) reveals, and properly so, that this is a most doubtful assumption

(cf. my "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," TAPA 70 (1939) 5-7, 16). The bibliography at the end is too sketchy to be of much help.

When this book reached me I had just started work on a problem connected with the overseas transport of grain. I turned immediately to the section on Transportation. There, carefully gathered and clearly presented, was material which would have cost me weeks and weeks of painful research to collect. This experience will be shared by all who work in the economic history of the later Roman Empire.

LIONEL CASSON

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ANCIENT BOOKS

WENDEL, CARL, *Die Griechisch-Römische Buchbeschreibung Verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients* (Hallische Monographien, Herausgegeben von Otto Eissfeldt, Nr. 3). Halle, Max Niemeyer Verlag (1949). Pp. viii+149. 4. DM 15.

DURING THE last dozen years several works on ancient books and libraries appeared. Wilhelm Schubart, whose useful *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, in the second edition (1921), is rather hard to find in this country (the first edition [1907] is still in demand), published in 1938 "Das Antike Buch," in *Die Antike*, 14, pp. 171-95. James W. Thompson published his *Ancient Libraries* in 1940 (120 pages with 3 illustrations). Wendel wrote the chapter "Geschichte der Bibliotheken im griechisch-römischen Altertum" for the third volume of Fritz Milkau's *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* (1940) pages 1-63. H. L. Pinner brought forth his pleasant little book entitled *The World of Books in Classical Antiquity* (1948, 64 pages with 13 illustrations), a second impression of which was issued in 1949. And now we have the book under review, which is the latest, most minute, and the best of the more recent specialized books on ancient bookmaking known to this reviewer.

As one may divine from the title, the book does not undertake to deal with ancient libraries, except in passing, when it becomes necessary to mention or compare the different processes pertaining to bookmaking. To this general rule there is one exception, chapter II, pages 18-23, which is devoted to the oldest Greek libraries. In this part of his work the author argues, convincingly, I think, that there were libraries in Greece under the early Tyrants. He mentions the library of Peisistratus and his sons, as being the first one in Athens (19), and that of Polycrates of Samos (20), and discusses at some length (20-23) the library at Miletus, which existed as early as the time of Thrasylbulus (ca. 610 B.C.).

Even though Thales may not have published any work, he left notes, which his pupils used. Thales was acquainted with Babylonian mathematics and Egyptian geometry and used the library at Miletus, which was probably situated in or near the palace (23). The libraries of the early Greek tyrants were in their palaces, as is the case also with that of Peisistratus, about whose library we have ancient testimonies, which, by some reasoning which I cannot fathom, are not accepted by some modern scholars.

The present study, then, deals entirely with books and bookmaking in antiquity, with the exception mentioned above. The contents of the book are as follows: Table of Contents (iii); List of the Frequently Mentioned Works (v); Preface (vii-viii). Then follow chapters 1-4 as follows: I, Book Description in the Nearer East, comprising clay tablets and papyrus rolls (1-17); II, The Most Ancient Greek Libraries (18-23); III, Greco-Roman Book Description (24-75); IV, Questions and Results (76-97). Notes (98-135), of which there are 536, many of them quite long and important. Index (136-149) I, divided into Texts used (a) Oriental, 136-138; (b) Greek and Roman, 138-141; II, Mythical and Historical Persons, 132-134; III, Lands, People and Places, 144-146; IV, Words and Matters, 146-149.

The two longer chapters are subdivided as follows: III. 1, Place of the Title (18-28)

2, Title and Incipit (29-34); 3, Stichometry (34-44); 4, Roll and Work (44-59); 5, Remarks on Origin (Herkunftsvermerk) (59-69); 6, Catalog and Signature (69-75). Chapter IV is subdivided into nine sections, as follows: 1, Elements not borrowed from Babylonian Book Description (76-77); 2, Asia Minor as a Possible Mediator (Vermittler) (77-80); 3, The Phoenician as a Possible Transmitter (80-81); 4, The Leather Roll as Writing Material (Schriftträger) among the Ionians (81-85); 5, Leather as Writing Material among the Arameans (85-88); 6, Have the Arameans and Ionians Received the Leather Roll from the Phoenicians? (88-91); 7, Has the Egyptian Leather Roll become the Model for the Phoenician? (91-93); 8, In What Form and Speech could the Babylonian and Assyrian Writings have Reached Ionia? (93-94); 9, The Influence of the Egyptian Papyrus Roll on the Greco-Roman Roll (94-97).

As the reader has already noticed from the Table of Contents, the book is a specialized study, and as such it may be compared with Wilhelm Schubart's well known book already mentioned, only in a general way.

In the first chapter the author takes account of the finds at Nineveh, Assur, Sippar, Larsa, Hattuscha, Ugarit (the last 9-12), and concludes that all the processes which the Greeks either adopted or developed later on were known to the Orientals (16). In Egypt the title was known as early as the 18th Dynasty (1580-1322 B.C.) (13).

Before the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2000 B.C.) the titles, if existing at all, were at the end (12). But after that time they were placed at the beginning of the rolls (12, 13). The colophon is found, among other rolls, in the *Papyrus Prisse*, which contains the teachings of Ptah Hotep. This book, said to be the oldest papyrus roll in existence, is dated between 2870 and 2675 B.C., by Adolf Erman in his *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated by Aylward M. Blackman (1927) p. 54. (Incidentally, Wendel mentions Kingdoms and Dynasties without, in most cases, giving even approximate dates. Most of the dates given here are by the re-

viewer.) It may be said about the *Papyrus Prisse* that Wendel either does not think it to be the oldest book, except one part, or he takes it for granted. For this papyrus, see Fritz Milkau, *Geschichte der Bibliotheken im Alten Orient* (1935) p. 11. Svend Dahl, *Geschichte des Buches* (1928) p. 5, states that "the oldest papyrus roll dates from ca. 2400 B.C.," but does not mention the *Papyrus Prisse*.

Wendel thinks that also some parts of the play entitled *King Sesostri's Ascension to his Throne* (12th Dynasty, ca. 1975-1937 B.C.), go back to the 1st Dynasty (ca. 3238 B.C.), and that the *Papyrus Ebers* (ca. 1550 B.C.), has some medical recipes which date from the 1st Dynasty (12, 13). The oldest Egyptian leather roll dates from before 1444 B.C. (92).

Greek Books

REGARDING THE Greek bookmaking, I can give only a very brief and incomplete account, for the sake of those readers of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* who do not read German easily.

In the Greek rolls the title regularly appeared at the end, after a blank space. In the early ages books were kept in trunks. In Athens trunks were used as late as 415 B.C., when the book case (Der Schrank) is attested for the first time. This was used later on by Aristotle; and it passed on to Alexandria, as did also much of the book knowledge that Aristotle and his followers had acquired in the administration of this truly great library, together with part of Aristotle's books. Though the rolls had their title at the end, they had also one at the beginning on a strip of papyrus or parchment. This was the *sillybos* or ticket (*index, titulus*). It might be said in passing that in the trunk the books lay flat, but in the smaller container, *capsa, scrinium*, which became cylindrical in form, the rolls stood upright. Some of these containers were small and others larger. The title appeared also occasionally in the middle. Pictures of authors appeared in the front. Apparently the Greeks learned the art of the book illustration from the Egyptians. There were portraits of poets and philosophers on

books before the Hellenistic times (135, Note 532), though the examples that we have begin "at the latest in the third century B.C." The oldest extant are those of Aratus and Theocritus (96).

Though historians did put their names in front, titles were not given in the early times, since most of the poems were presented orally. But the dithyrambic, the comic, and the tragic poets found it necessary to give titles to their works. As far as we know, Protagoras was the first prose writer to give a title to his own work, entitled *Truth* (*Ἀλήθεια*). Plato gave titles to his *Sophistes*, and his *Politicus*. Later on the libraries, especially that of Alexandria, as far as possible, gave titles to works which did not possess such, though not all books in the different ancient libraries had titles. In naming a book one used also the *incipit* or beginning words to define it more precisely.

The counting of lines or verses (stichometry), which became a regular feature in Alexandrian times, was known in Athens since the publication of Isocrates' *Panathenaicus* (339 B.C.), of Ephorus' *Universal History* (ca. 330 B.C.) and of Theopompus' *Philippica*, (ca. 324 B.C. or later, though possibly composed earlier, since it ends with the year 340 B.C.). This stichometry was probably occasioned by the rising book trade in Athens, "which we meet first in the time of Pericles" (41). In Ionia stichometry was probably used as early as the beginning of the 6th century, and may go back to the libraries of the Ionian tyrants. Since even in Ugarit or Ras Shamra stichometry was known, and since it was known also in Egypt, it is probable that the Ionians borrowed this custom from their neighbors, as Victor Gardthausen was the first to point out in 1922 (44). Since Wendel traces all knowledge of bookmaking among the Greeks from the same oriental source, suffice it to mention here that the Egyptians influenced the Orientals, and through the latter the Ionians borrowed most of the processes together with the Phoenician alphabet. The Greeks borrowed the alphabet in the "tenth or ninth century" (80) and began their writing

"somewhere between the eighth and the seventh century" B.C. (93). Proetus gave Bellerophon a wax tablet containing writing (126, note 429). Incidentally, the reference to the *Iliad* is given as Σ instead of Ζ, by a rare misprint, occasioned doubtless by the printers through the similarity of the Zeta to Sigma.

Borrowed from the East?

THE QUESTION immediately arises in one's mind: If the Greeks borrowed everything full blown from the Orientals, how did it come about that it took them several centuries to reach the stage in which they presumably had found all those book processes, including that of book illustration and portraiture? It would seem to me that the art of bookmaking among the Greeks developed slowly and by trial and success method, irrespective of the progress that the Phoenicians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Arameans, and Egyptians had made in such matters. In those early times the Greeks were not in a condition to imitate the Orientals in everything they did. Nor does it automatically follow that because certain processes were known to some earlier than the Greeks, the latter *ipso facto* borrowed theirs from the former.

We need clear proofs rather than assertions. The author himself states that the Greek title began late (30), even though it had been known in Egypt earlier. Likewise the drawings in the MS. of Eudoxus' *Astronomy* (Τέχνη), dating about 150 B.C., are very rude, and do not presuppose great skill. See M. R. James, "Books and Writing," in Leonard Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* (1931), p. 609.

Regarding the size of the pre-Alexandrine rolls, Wendel combats Theodor Birt's theory, as does also Wilhelm Schubart (*Das Buch*. . . [1921], p. 43; "Das Antike Buch," *Die Antike* 14 [1938], p. 174), on the ground that such rolls, if they existed at all in Greece, were unusual and ornamental (46). Wendel did not know of, or at least does not refer to, Frederick G. Kenyon's "Book Divisions in Greek and Latin Literature," in William Warner

Bishop; a Tribute (1941), pp. 63-75. He does not refer to Thompson's book or to Pinner's work mentioned above; nor does he mention Lloyd W. Daly's "The Entitulature of Pre-Ciceronian Writings," in *Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather* (1943), pp. 20-38. Such works, published during the war, could not be obtained, perhaps. But it is odd that he does not mention F. G. Kenyon's *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (1932), and Naphtali Lewis' *L'Industrie du Papyrus dans l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* (1934). He does, however, list in his bibliography G. R. Driver's *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet* (1948), and refers to K. Weitzmann's *Illustrations in Roll and Kodex . . .* (1947). The author remarks that books and rolls were not always synonymous, since some rolls contained more books than one. Some very long books may have been divided into two rolls each, though of the latter we do not have any clear proofs. The author is of the opinion that "the Greeks carried on the custom of counting the rolls (Rollenzählung) as well as stichometry, almost unchanged from that of the Orientals, to fill it with a new meaning in the time of their national flowering and to lift it to a conspicuous mark of a spiritual order" (59).

Casually, the author mentions Alexander's library at Pella, since such a library was needed in Macedonia, where the later princes had gathered a group of Greek poets and scholars (63-65). The custom of giving the provenance of manuscripts and the name of their possessors did not originate in Alexandria but in Athens, and possibly still earlier at Miletus (68). The Greeks and Romans had one catalogue for each library. The divisions of such a catalogue were considered essential (75).

Leather, Papyrus

IN DISCUSSING the use of leather rolls by the Ionians, Wendel states that papyrus rolls did not reach Ionia in large quantities "before the second quarter of the sixth century" (82). (See also 85.) Greek literature, therefore, need not have waited for the papyrus. He

derives the word *byblos* from the Phoenician city of the same name, which existed before the flourishing of Tyre and Sidon (82). The Ionians learned the word when they came to the Phoenician harbor Byblos (Gebal). Papyrus was mentioned in Byblos as early as the 11th century B.C. (84). Among the Jews the papyrus roll appears first in possession of the Prophet Jeremias, in 605 B.C. (87). Leather rolls came to the Hebrews through Persian influence (88). The leather roll came to the Greek islands and continental Greece through Phoenicians in the 9th and 8th centuries (89). Wendel does not pretend to decide whether the word *βιβλος* is derived from the Semitic *dalet* (door) (91). Though the Greeks borrowed from their predecessors, they did not imitate them slavishly (96).

The book ends with the following paragraph: "The Greek then, as over against the Egyptian papyrus roll, preserved the same ability (Fähigkeit) which, as we could notice right along in the course of our investigation, has been suitably determined by its relation to the Babylonian book writing. The Greeks accepted the foreign element as far as it was useful, and they so penetrated it with their own spirit, that it became a genuine ancient element." (77).

Unfortunately, the book has no illustrations, and the paper, though soft and pleasing to the eye, is not of the best quality. I have watched rather carefully the Greek accents, but have discovered no slip. His reference to his "History of Libraries in Greco-Roman Antiquity" in the *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, without giving the editor's name, caused me some trouble, since I could not find it listed in the printed *Catalogue* of the Library of Congress or in The Johns Hopkins University Library, until by chance I looked under Fritz Milkau, where this work is listed. In Note 18 (p. 99), Wendel refers to C. W. Blegen and K. Kourouniotis' article in *The Illustrated London News* 36 (1939) 979 f; but not to their fundamental publication of the tablets in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 43 (1939) 557-570.

The writer of the book before us is no novice either to classical scholarship or to

ancient libraries and books. Beside the Teubner edition of the *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera* (1914), and the *Ueberlieferung und Entstehung* . . . of the same (1921), and his *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* (1935), he has to his credit, as far as known to me, 19 studies, notes, or reviews in some department of ancient and medieval books or libraries. His brief outline of ancient libraries in Milkau's *Handbuch*, mentioned earlier, is an excellent summary of our knowledge up to that time. His present book brings together a vast amount of information gleaned from Orientalists, since he himself does not know the Oriental languages. But since he has had the benefit of such scholars as Carl Brockelmann, F. W. von Bissing, and Otto Eissfeld, his information is none the less first hand and accurate, as far as I have been able to check it.

Wendel's style is not in the easiest German. I should place it between the easy flowing style of Wilhelm Schubart and the hard and involved one of Ulrich von Wilamowitz. He and Schubart are unquestionably the best living German authorities on ancient bookmaking, and Wendel is the only one known to me who wrote so much on ancient libraries and different phases of bookmaking in ancient and medieval Greece. It is fortunate that he has survived the horrors of the World War to give us this excellent book. May he live a long and useful life for the benefit of classical scholarship. *Bene feliciterque ei eveniat!*

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RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

BLANCHARD, HAROLD HOOPER, *Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation*: New York, Longmans, Green and Company (1949). Pp. xix + 1084. \$6.00.

TO THEIR GROWING list of "Classics in Translation," which includes a well-known volume *Greek and Roman Classics in Trans-*

lation, edited by C. T. Murphy, K. Guinagh and W. J. Oates (New York, 1947), Messrs. Longmans, Green and Company have now added the volume under review and another volume, *Medieval Literature in Translation*, edited by Charles W. Jones. These three volumes combined will offer an outline of world literature in selections, from Homer to Cervantes.

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim, said Horace. I may be permitted to modify this line and say that in our commercialized age that pays lipservice to culture and cultural values too many people speak of authors and books without ever having taken the trouble to read them. And why should they, when it is easier, tired as they are, to get Ersatz culture by reading outlines and digests of various classics? Let me illustrate this point. Sometime ago a "complete digest," of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* came into my hands which one of the New York dailies offered in its Sunday edition as a special attraction to its readers. The digest comprised slightly more than 11 columns; it had a very brief introduction of perhaps a dozen lines or more, with hardly a word about Cervantes, his contribution and importance; there was, however, this encouraging (?) remark to be found, that very few who are not native Spaniards read through it and that the work, though admirable in the original, is somewhat tedious in most translations. A statement like that will hardly inspire young people to go to the trouble of reading this Spanish classic even in the remarkable translation of *Don Quixote* recently published by Samuel Putnam (The Viking Press, New York, 1949).

Since, in my opinion, digests of classics can only contribute to the making of what may be called an adventurer in culture, the reading of good translations, under the guidance of properly trained teachers (preferably those familiar with the languages in which the originals were written) must be considered a lesser evil. For this lesser evil helps to keep the interest in our cultural heritage alive and is likely to stimulate enough intellectual curiosity in some students to undertake the study of a classical or modern language. Of

course, this is not the place to enter into a full debate of the value of the study of great writers in translation. I think that Professor Blanchard covers the point very well: "In an era in which it becomes imperative to understand the minds of other peoples, the impulse to justify the study of foreign literatures in translation becomes perhaps less urgent (Preface, p. v)."

Blanchard's is not an anthology of world literature. As contrasted with that type of anthologies it offers selection from eleven non-dramatic writers, who exerted a profound influence on Western culture. However the title of the volume as it appears on the jacket is slightly misleading, and it is not until one reads the title page and the introduction that he becomes aware that the volume consists of selections. And since there will always be a difference of opinion on the value of anthologies as to what they should omit and on what they should concentrate, few will ever be fully satisfied with the contents of any modern anthology. The present volume is limited, and by choice, to continental writers of the Renaissance. It omits English writers altogether; hence our editor could be criticised for this omission. But he anticipates criticism by stating that many good collections of literature of the English Renaissance are in existence and that the present volume was planned "as a companion volume devoted to the foreign writers of that period who contributed largely to the thought and character of English literature and society (Preface, p. v)."

The volume was prepared to satisfy the needs of college undergraduates interested in European literature of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and is the outgrowth of the editor's own teaching. In making his selections Professor Blanchard was guided by those writings (or portions of them) which enjoyed great popularity on the Continent and exerted the greatest influence in England. The selections are representative and include portions of the most important works of Petrarch (3-95), Boccaccio (97-262), Machiavelli (263-312), Castiglione (313-382), Ariosto (383-496), Erasmus (497-576), Rabe-

lais (577-662), Ronsard (663-704), Montaigne (705-813), Tasso (815-997) and Cervantes (999-1076). Each selection is prefaced by a well written, concise and factual biographical introduction, which is followed by a selective biography, including editions, translations, critical and special studies, to assist those who wish to pursue the subject further. Needless to say, Professor Blanchard used the best standard translations available. The volume concludes with a Selected General Bibliography (1077-1079) and an Appendix (1080-1084), containing a list of works in English literature which were influenced by the writers included in our volume.

There is one point I should like to add. On p. 313 our editor states that Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, upon its publication in 1528 "became read over all of Western Europe." That is correct. But few readers will realize, I think, that "Western" in those days included Poland, where in 1566, Lukasz Górnicki, who like many of his countrymen was educated in Italy, published an adaptation and translation of Castiglione's work into Polish. As a courtier himself and a friend of two kings he wished to instruct his fellow citizens in those social graces that flourished at Urbino. It is interesting to note that the Polish translator eliminated women altogether from his version, though in the Italian original they play an important part.

All in all, Blanchard's is a most useful volume, well edited, well printed and bound. It will fill a need among those college students who are bent upon enriching their knowledge of both the history and the literature of Western Europe during the period of the Renaissance.

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M. MINUCIUS FELIX

QUISPEL, G., *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, uitgegeven en van commentaar voorzien*. Leiden, E. J. Brill (1949). Pp. xviii + 83, 2 guilders.

DR. QUISPÉL, whose Utrecht dissertation on the sources of Tertullian's *Adversus Mar-*

cionem was published in 1943, is now well known in this country as one of the four editors-in-chief of the journal *Vigiliae Christianae*, organ of the vigorous Dutch school of patristics. In this small volume, no. 61 of the *Grieksche en Latijnsche Schrijvers met Aanteekeningen*, a series of school editions of ancient authors, he presents us with a Latin text of the *Octavius* accompanied by an "introducing" and a "verantwoording," as well as by a commentary, all in the Dutch language. The range of the comments extends all the way from the simplicity of a note which warns the reader that the word *Octavi* in the first line of the text is a genitive to copious Greek extracts from such writers as Sextus Empiricus. One wonders how a student who would need the former aid to understanding can exploit the latter, but perhaps the Dutch student differs from ours.

The commentary is, however, devoid, save for one exception, of all references to the modern scientific literature—the reader who wants this must go elsewhere. In general the commentary calls attention to the pertinent parallels in earlier writers, both Christian and pagan. I have noted one important omission of this kind: in 8.2 the allusion to Theodorus of Cyrene and Diagoras of Melos should surely have called forth a reference to Cicero's *De natura deorum*. One other note will be of absorbing interest to Americans: in 29.4 Minucius says: *Aegyptii sane hominem sibi quem colant eligunt . . . At ille, qui ceteris deus, sibi certe homo est, velit nolit; nec enim conscientiam suam decipit, si fallit alienam*. Here the commentator cites Father Divine as a parallel!

The notes being in Dutch, it is unlikely that this edition can have wide use in this country with classes, but since the price of the little volume is so low, those who have not yet obtained a text of the *Octavius* will find this an inexpensive way of filling the gap. It is therefore as a text rather than a commentary that the book has its chief significance for us. What, then, of the text? It is fundamentally that published by J. Martin (*Florileg. patr.ist.* Bonn 1931) but with 93 deviations, all listed neatly at the beginning. Of

these, ten are Quispel's own and six others a return to the reading of *codex Parisinus* 1661, also containing the text of Arnobius. Indeed, except for the *codex Bruxellensis* 10846-7 which all editors since Reifferscheid's edition of Arnobius in 1875 have rejected as a copy of P and hence worthless as a testimony, P is the sole MS of both authors. Quispel, however, cites B as authority for *timeas* in place of Martin's *times* in 27.8. In my introduction to Arnobius (pp. 54, 266) I called attention to the fact that the judgment of Reifferscheid was admittedly based on a collation made for him by Lersch, and that the rejection should be checked. I therefore beg leave to hope that Quispel, who is strategically located for such a project, may find time to undertake the investigation of the independence of B as an authority for both authors.

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MEDICAL LATIN AND GREEK

SPILMAN, MIGNONETTE, *Medical Latin and Greek*: Salt Lake City (1949). (Ann Arbor, Mich., Edward Brothers, Inc.) Pp. ix+139. \$3.25.

THE UNIVERSITY of Utah should be added to the list of institutions at present offering courses in scientific Latin and Greek (See Professor Lind's recent article, *The Classics and the Medical Schools*. *CJ* 45 [Dec. 1949] 115-119), for Dr. Spilman has for many years been giving there a highly successful course to pre-medical students.

This second edition of her text is much enlarged over the first, which appeared in 1941, though the basic division into Latin and Greek vocabularies is retained, and the list of entries is approximately the same. The Latin list contains about 700 words and stems, and the Greek 550, though the total number of words appearing, mostly derivatives and compounds of these, is of course much greater. The excellent feature of these vocabulary lists—a feature stressed and enlarged in this edition—is that, after meaning and forms of

stem are given, the change from primary to secondary or derived meanings is illustrated by a series of carefully chosen examples, so that the group shows the development up to the specialized medical use. Related words then follow for the student's analysis.

The explanatory material has been greatly amplified, too—a necessity arising partly, one suspects, from the increasing unfamiliarity of many students with Latin. In the introduction to the Latin section, for example, the nominative and genitive forms of all declensions of nouns and adjectives are given and explained, and questions of agreement and the significance of the cases illustrated in a series of Latin phrases. Then comes a very thorough treatment of suffixes, under such headings as denominative and frequentative verbs, nouns formed from verbs and adjectives, adjectives from nouns and verbs, and the like. The seven pages of this material are followed by a discussion of compounds, and a listing of Latin prefixes, with an anticipatory list of Greek prefixes often found with Latin stems. Euphonic changes are here considered, and original and "combining" meanings. Similar topics appear in the thirteen-page introduction to the Greek section.

For review purposes, selected lists of terms follow each chief division, but organization of the material must depend, for the most part, on the teacher, since the main lists are alphabetically arranged. It should be easy, however, to shorten the course (planned for at least two semesters' work?) by omission of terms, and help is given the student by illustrative words which review prefixes, suffixes, and stems already presented.

As a whole, the book is more specialized and complete than an earlier one in this field, Agard's *Medical Greek and Latin at a Glance*. The reviewer approves the separation of Greek from Latin, as against the mixture in Agard's book, but on the other hand, regrets here the use of transliteration for the Greek words. The abandoning of Greek type in recent editions of dictionaries is discouraging for teachers giving courses in derivatives; no doubt in her experience Miss Spilman has

found transliteration justified. The choice of words in the book, largely from human anatomy and pathology, indicates that advanced students will profit from it most, but a student who has fully mastered it will have gained an admirably efficient tool for his medical studies.

The type of this paper-bound multilithed volume is clear, and the text apparently quite free of typographical errors. On page 83 the equivalent of iota is by a slip given as *o*. On page 25 the reference under *arteria* to the Greek vocabulary has not been completed.

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OXFORD COMPOSITIONS

BARRINGTON-WARD, J. G., J. BELL, C. M. BOWRA, A. N. BRYAN-BROWN, J. D. DENNISTON, T. F. HIGHAM, M. PLATNAUER, *Some Oxford Compositions: Oxford*, at the Clarendon Press (1949). Pp. xxxvi + 324.

THIS BOOK, which contains 159 renditions of pieces chosen from the works of various English and French authors into Latin and Greek (I shall comment on the Latin alone), is the work of seven classical tutors in various Oxford Colleges. Meeting at tea, they discussed various versions of the pieces offered by the participants which had been distributed in advance. Out of the numerous versions these were selected by vote and then further revised. Generally the standard was the Honour Moderations but some were easier, of College Scholarship standard and some harder, of University Scholarship standard.

One can but admire the teaching that has brought students to the level where they can even in an examination tackle such compositions, selections e.g. from William Pitt, "On the Slave Trade," Daniel Defoe, Macaulay, Lawrence's "Revolt in The Desert" and others in prose and from various poets ranging from Shakespeare to Keats and Tennyson.

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The introduction alone (of 36 pages) makes the book worth while. It consists of the following divisions: A Metaphysic of Composition; Varieties of Composition: Terms to be used, and so forth. In it are elaborated the principles of translation that will well reward study by modern writers of Latin and indeed of modern languages. It would be too long to quote from it effectively and I can but recommend the reading.

Of the selections some seem unduly hard and abstruse. One principle that seems to this reviewer of foremost importance is to know what the original means. On this score one or two selections seem to outdo themselves. The results therefore in Latin are not too satisfactory but perhaps as satisfactory as the original. But why choose such media? This reviewer believes that a muddy writer's thought will be muddy and that the translation will be muddier. It surely will not be Ciceronian, for Cicero was always clear.

There is considerable unevenness of quality, the versions ranging from "very good" and "praestans" and "scitissime" to "not so good" and "dispicet." The reason may lie either in the style and ability of the translator or in the selection itself. In several cases the same man has translated a piece in the style of two different authors. T. F. Higham does this with one passage from Landor with outstanding success, one version being Ciceronian and the other Tacitean.

Occasionally there are infelicities, which I should have expected the combined revision of seven skilled men would have avoided. The constructions could in each case be defended grammatically but in such a work no defense should be required. One translator must have been asleep at the switch, for at least twice he admits the form *revertere* as present infinitive instead of *reverti*. We all know how in revising we can be blind to some arrant blunder, but the same blunder twice is something yet again.

The poetic versions on the whole I found much more to my liking than the prose, and they seemed to me better done. The same T. F. Higham translates a passage from Shelley's

"Queen Mab" in Lucretian, in Vergilian, and in Ovidian style. Each one is good in itself and as an imitation of the particular Latin style outstanding. Another whose work is noteworthy is J. G. Barrington-Ward. To him this book is dedicated, as he died before it was conceived. His colleagues chose from among his translations and selected from several versions those that seemed best to have pleased him. It is therefore too bad that they included a passage from Milton, in the first line of which appears a very harsh elision. They seem to have found no variant version.

It would be interesting to make a close study of these compositions with the remarkable work of H. Montague Butler, once Headmaster of Harrow and later Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the various writers whose works appear in *Sabinae Corolla*, in *Folia Silvulae* and *Arundines Cami*.

Notwithstanding such strictures as I have allowed myself, this book is well worth studying and should be used by any teacher of composition and anyone desirous of writing either Latin prose or verse. It is also heartening to learn that the art of Latin composition is not the hopeless cadaver that many would have us believe. In fact Libitina can still rest for a long while.

GOODWIN B. BEACH

Hartford, Connecticut

MEXICAN COUNTRY SCENES

REGENOS, GRAYDON W., *Rafael Landívar's Rusticatio Mexicana*, the Latin text with an introduction and an English prose translation: New Orleans, Tulane University (1948). Preprinted from Publication No. 11, pp. 155-314, Middle American Research Institute (Philological and Documentary Studies, Vol. 1, No. 5).

LANDÍVAR'S NAME AND WORK were brought four years ago to the attention of a somewhat

wide public in the United States thanks to the article of George I. Dale on *Paricutín, Jorullo, and Landívar*.¹ Today Mr. Regenos' translation makes available for the first time to the North American reader not possessing Latin or Spanish this important work of New Spain's Golden Century.² It offers, moreover, to the Latin student or scholar the original text which was practically impossible to secure either in the first edition of Modena, 1781, in ten "books," or in the second—"auctor," fifteen "books" plus an appendix—of Bologna, 1782, or even in the more recent, although faulty, Mexican one of 1924.³ The latter is so faulty that it omits sometimes whole groups of verses; for instance, verses 18-27 of the first book, which one would seek in vain.

For those knowing Spanish there are some translations in that language of which Mr. Regenos cites (p. 160, note 7) the three complete ones: Loureda's literal one already alluded to in note 3, Federico Escobedo's metrical one, *Geórgicas Mexicanas* (1925), and the more recent by Octaviano Valdés.⁴ He does not mention the partial translations such as the splendid one in verse by Joaquín Arcadio Pagaza for Book I, or for Book II the one by Rafael Dávalos, or the passage on cock-fighting from Book XV by the Cuban José María de Heredia—namesake and relative of the author of *Les Trophées*. Nor does he indicate the value of those translations ranking from the rather poor one of Loureda to the excellent one and easier to secure by Valdés.

We are indebted then to Mr. Regenos for bringing into English for the first time Landívar's *Rusticatio*. He has "endeavored to reflect as much of the poetry and spirit of the original as possible," and he has succeeded. Landívar's authentic inspiration in American—Mexican—landscapes and ways, his strong visions as well as his tender contemplation are easy to grasp in Mr. Regenos' "readable English prose"—to quote his own words.

This is not a critical edition, and Mr. Regenos has kept "most inconsistencies and peculiarities of spelling." In some cases he substitutes correct readings for typographical

errors of the original edition. In a few cases he has supplied a more felicitous reading for the original. For example, *remorum* for *remotum* in Book I, line 241. I think Landívar deserves a critical annotated edition, and Mr. Regenos can be assured of the gratitude of those interested in the matter if he would undertake such an enterprise. It is to be regretted that here and there some errors have crept into the text. For instance the *f* form of *s* of the eighteenth century edition has been kept in a few cases: *folatia* for *solatia*, p. 162, second line from the bottom, *ineffe* for *inesse*, p. 164, line 17. A few times also the circumflex accent for the ablative has been kept as in the case of *subitū*, p. 162, line 31. The spelling of some Mexican names in the translation is not always a very accurate one. Some of them Mr. Regenos has latinized unnecessarily. And so we read *chinampus* (p. 169) for *chinampas*, or *centzonthus* (p. 171) for *centzonitle* (although we read *centzonitle* in p. 279). *Pátzcuaro* is spelled *Pátzuaro*, without *c* in p. 185, note 2. In two of the notes Mr. Regenos has kept the old spelling given by Landívar to Indian names. Possibly it would have been better to use the modern and accepted ones. Such are the cases of the waterfall's name *Tzararacqua* (p. 274, note 5) spelled nowadays *Tzardracua*, with *c*; or *ule* (p. 306, note 3) which we now spell *hule*. Where Landívar quoted in French Mr. Regenos left those quotations untouched and here, too, accuracy is lacking. For instance p. 216, note 2, *trouw*.

The editor has reprinted the three interesting drawings of the Bologna edition, not to be found in any of the Spanish translations. He has added a brief though helpful thematic index which one would seek for in vain in the Spanish translations. The Latin and English are printed in parallel columns on the same page. On one hand this may be better than the page to page presentation since it facilitates the comparison of the translation with the original. But on the other hand this presentation gives no space for the usual numbering of every fifth line. On the contrary, the numbers are given only in parentheses at the end of the strophes, which vary

in length (1-6 on p. 166, or 140-176 on pages 204-205).

One would have also desired the identification of the authorities quoted by Landívar. Some of them are easy to identify. Among them I mention Acosta's work, p. 175, especially since there was a Mexican edition as recent as 1940 by Edmundo O'Gorman. Not so easy to identify is Gemelli's work, quoted without indication of title. *Giro del mondo* is the title which the Italian traveler Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri gave to his writings. Of that work a popular and widely circulated edition was the *nuova* in nine volumes, Venice, 1719.⁵ A frequently quoted author is Bomare, and Landívar does not indicate from which of his works he is quoting. It would have been helpful to know that this Bomare is the "citoyen" Jacques Christophe Valmont de Bomare, and that Landívar meant to quote here his *Dictionnaire raisonné universel d'Histoire Naturelle*. Of this I know of a *Nouvelle édition augmentée par l'auteur* in nine volumes, Paris, 1775; a third edition, also in nine volumes, appeared in Lyon in 1776, and a fourth one, *considérablement augmentée*, in eight volumes was published also in Lyon in 1791.

All those are only *peccata minuta*. What I would have preferred, though *de gustibus . . .*, is to see a couple of pages of the Introduction devoted to a cursory presentation of Landívar against his proper background of the Mexican Humanists of the eighteenth century,⁶ not only writing in Latin or translating Homer into Vergil's tongue, but deeply interested in new ideas,⁷ insisting on the importance of science,⁸ equally concerned with the past and the destiny of America, and daring to criticize democratically—fore-runners of the Independence of Spanish America—the origin of the king's power.⁹ I should also have liked a brief mention of American nature as a source of inspiration to other Spanish-American poets—Andrés Bello and Gregorio Gutiérrez González, among others.¹⁰

Everybody knows that it is much easier to criticize than to undertake to do what one

criticizes. All in all, Mr. Regenos' work is a very good one and students and scholars of Spanish-American culture are in debt to him.

MANUEL ALCALÁ

Bryn Mawr College

NOTES

¹ *Hispania*, 28.4 (November 1925), pp. 522-525.

² Alexander V. Davis, *El siglo de oro de la Nueva España (Siglo XVIII)*: México, Editorial Polis (1945). (Doctoral dissertation.)

³ *Rusticación Mejicana* de Rafael Landívar. Traducción literal y directa . . . por Ignacio Loureda . . . : México, Dociedad de Edición y Librería Franco Americana, S.A. (1924).

⁴ Rafael Landívar, *Por los Campos de México*. Prólogo, versión y notas de Octaviano Valdés: México, Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma (1942). (Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, 34.)

⁵ The part dealing with Gemelli's travels through New Spain was translated into Spanish in the last century by the Mexican José María de Agreda y Sánchez and has been twice printed in our century: *Viaje a la Nueva España*: México, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Mexicanos (1927), and *Las cosas más considerables vistas en la Nueva España*: México, Ediciones Xóchitl (1946). The *Giro del Mondo* was also translated into French and English: *Voyage du tour du monde*: Paris (1719), in six volumes; reprinted in Paris, also in six volumes, in 1727, and later in The Hague, 1747-1780, under the title *Voyages de Gemelli Careri*. Of the English translation, *A Voyage Round the World*, I know of two British editions, both in London, in 1704 and 1732.

⁶ Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, *Humanistas del Siglo XVIII*: México, Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma (1941). (Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, 24.) Plancarte's untimely and regretted death occurred last December 16.

⁷ Bernabé Navarro, *La Introducción de la Filosofía Moderna en México*: México, El Colegio de México (1948). (Master's Dissertation.)

⁸ So Maneiro, for instance (I translate freely): "Because all men are born with a vehement desire for science, and He who created us as well as the world gave this to us for our investigation" (Méndez Plancarte, *op. cit.*, p. 192). So, also, Landívar ends his *Rusticatio* with this advice:

Tu tamen interea, magnum cui mentis acumen,
Antiquos exuta, novos nunc indues sensus,
Et reserare sagax naturae arcana professa
Ingenii totas vestigans exere vires,
Thesaurusque tuos grato reclude labores.

Appendix, 108-112.

⁹ See Francisco Xavier Alegre, *On the Origin of Authority*, apud Méndez Plancarte, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-54.

¹⁰ José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, *De Landívar a Gutiérrez González: Introducción a los Geopónicos Americanos*: Bogotá, *Revista de las Indias* 68 (August 1944) 331-346.

CLASSICAL ARTICLES

(Continued from Page 140)

"SCIENTIA" 85 (1950).—(January: 21-27) G. E. von Grunebaum, "Islam and Hellenism." Generally speaking, "the function of Hellenism in Islam was to provide forms of thought, means of rationalized articulation along with patterns of literary presentation, and to transmit an enormous amount of subject matter, on the scientific level as well as sub-scientific (magic, divination, etc.)."

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, ANNUAL REPORT (1948).—(439-451 and 8 plates) Bruce M. Metzger, "Recently Published Greek Papyri of the New Testament." A reprint "with several minor additions" from *The Biblical Archaeologist* 10, no. 2 (May 1947), for which see *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 45 (November 1949), pp. 106 and 109.

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY 47 (1950).—(April: 113-125) Linton C. Stevens, "The Motivation for Hellenic Studies in the French Renaissance." Religious, moralistic, patriotic, philological, and social motives all contributed in varying degrees to the development of Greek studies in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (395-397) Don C. Allen, "Recent Literature of the Renaissance: Neo-Latin." Bibliography for 1949.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY 19, (1949-50).—(October: 81-92) G. M. A. Grube, "Why Study the Classics?" The author maintains, in particular, "that Classical studies have definite social value and are necessary to the community as a whole." (January: 158-164) John C. Lapp, "Hippolyte, Phèdre, and the 'Récit de Thérémène'." A brief critical essay dealing with the final act of Racine's *Phèdre*.

SPAETH

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND Eastern Massachusetts

The forty-fourth Annual Joint meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Club of Greater Boston will be held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on Saturday, February 10, 1951 at 10 A.M. The program will be as follows: A Word of Wel-

come, Prof. H. H. Yeames, President of the Classical Club; "The Problems of a Teacher of Classics in England," Miss Eleanor Wood, Sutton High School, England; "The Development of Ancient Botany," Prof. Emeritus A. S. Pease, Harvard University; "The Hermes of Olympia," Prof. William Mead, Amherst College; "Housing Conditions in Ancient Rome" (illustrated), Prof. Dorothy Robathan, Wellesley College.

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

The Illinois Classical Conference will hold its eleventh annual meeting at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago, February 22-24. At the opening session on Thursday night the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute will provide the program for a joint meeting with the ICC; on Saturday the Conference will close with a luncheon for its members and those of the Chicago Classical Club, at which Professor J. A. O. Larsen and Profes-

sor Gertrude E. Smith of the University of Chicago will speak. Guest of honor and chief speaker at the banquet on Friday night will be Mr. Louis E. Lord, now president of the Bureau of University Travel. Among the papers scheduled for other sessions of the Conference are those dealing with aspects of Cicero, Vergil's art, audio-visual education, the relation of the U.N. and the Classics, and a high school administrator's championship of Latin.

PROGRAM

Memphis Meeting, CAMWS

(Central Standard Time)

THURSDAY, MARCH 29

8:30 A.M. Registration begins, Mezzanine Floor, Hotel Peabody.

9:00 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee, Third Floor.

(All papers presented in the Georgian Room, Central Standard Time)

10:00 A.M. Clarence A. Forbes, President CAMWS, Presiding. (Time for each paper will be twenty minutes, except as otherwise noted.)

Clyde Pharr and Mary Brown Pharr, University of Texas, "The Devastation of Taxation in the Later Roman Empire."
Gladys Martin, Mississippi State College for Women, "Claudian, an Intellectual Pagan of the Fourth Century."

Reverend George E. Ganss, S.J., Marquette University, Milwaukee, "Pronunciations of Latin in Church."

Helen Gorse, Hanley Junior High School, University City, Missouri, "Pliny: The Time of His Life."

Brother Louis Cavell, S.C., St. Aloysius High School, New Orleans, "Utilitarianism—a Blight on Latin." (15 minutes)

2:00 P.M. Esther Weightman, First Vice-President, CAMWS, Wisconsin High School, Madison, Presiding.

Esther Jewell, University High School, University of Michigan, "Making Latin Work Outside the Classroom." (15 minutes)

Ortha L. Wilner, Milwaukee State Teachers College, "The Latin Teacher and the Curriculum."

Albert Rapp, University of Tennessee, "Courses in Latin and Greek Etymology." (15 minutes)

Intermission, 5 Minutes

Sister Luanne Meagher, O.S.B., St. Paul's

Priory, St. Paul, Minnesota, "The Roman Element in the Rule of St. Benedict."

Leslie F. Smith, University of Oklahoma, "Feats on Foot." (12 minute)

Marquerite B. Grow, Hockaday School, Dallas, "Latin Lives in Texas." (15 minutes)

Immediately at the close of the reading of papers, a business meeting of the Southern Section will be convened in the same room, President Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, Presiding.

7:45 P.M. A. Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary, Presiding.

Earle R. Caley, Department of Chemistry, The Ohio State University, "Chemistry Contributes to the Classics" (illustrated).

Edwards C. Echols, University of Alabama, "Off in a Classical Cloud of Dust."

J. P. Harland, University of North Carolina, "Greek Engineering" (illustrated).

FRIDAY, MARCH 30

7:30 A.M. State Vice-Presidents will meet for breakfast, Room 209 Mezzanine Floor, Secretary W. C. Korfmacher, Presiding.

9:30 A.M. Arthur H. Moser, University of Tennessee, Presiding.

Robert J. Getty, University College, Toronto, "Classical Studies in the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland." (30 minutes)

Catherine Bradshaw Boyd, Consolidated High School, Kimball, South Dakota, "Julia, Daughter of Augustus." (12 minutes)

A. D. Fraser, University of Virginia, "Rome's Awakening: the Generation of 315-280 B.C."

Intermission, 5 Minutes

- Sally Adams Robinson, Lafayette High School, Lexington, Kentucky, "Latin Can be Offered in the Small High School." (15 minutes)
- Margaret Martin, Natchez High School, Natchez, Mississippi, "High-School Latin and the Colleges." (15 minutes)
- Fred S. Dunham, University of Michigan, "Interpretation in Teaching High-School Latin."
- Sister Mary Donald, B.V.M., Mundelein College, "Abdication of Authority: Then and Now."
- 2:00 P.M.** Professor James E. Dunlap, University of Michigan, Presiding.
- Kevin Guinagh, Eastern Illinois State College, "The Throat of Venus." (15 minutes)
- Symposium: "The Classical Tradition Lives"
- Henry C. Montgomery, Miami University, "Architecture" (illustrated).
- David M. Robinson, University of Mississippi, "Art" (illustrated).
- Paul L. MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin, "English Literature."
- L. R. Lind, University of Kansas, "American Literature."
- 3:45-5:00 P.M.** Tea, courtesy of Memphis State College and Southwestern, at Brooks Memorial Art Academy, Overton Park.
- 7:00 P.M.** Annual Subscription Banquet (\$3.85 per plate, tip included), formal dress optional. Mezzanine Floor, Hotel

Peabody. Clyde Murley, Northwestern University, Presiding. Greetings:

Ovations: Norman J. De Witt, University of Minnesota. Presidential Address: Clarence A. Forbes, The Ohio State University, "Quantum Mutata."

SATURDAY, MARCH 31

9:00-10:00 A.M. Annual Business Session. Call to order at nine o'clock sharp in the Georgian Room. Clarence A. Forbes, Presiding.

10:00 A.M. Final Session, Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, Presiding.

Reverend W. P. Hetherington, S.J., Xavier University, Cincinnati, "Latin for Quiz Kids."

Panel Discussion: *Quem ad Finem Doces?*
John N. Hough, University of Colorado, Chairman.

The Panel: H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College; Sister Mary Kathleen, O.S.U., Ursuline High School, Columbia, South Carolina; Paul R. Murphy, Ohio University; Helene Wilson, Dearborn High School, Dearborn, Michigan.

Discussion from the floor.

1:30 P.M. A caravan of cars, or a chartered bus, or both, will leave from the Hotel Peabody to visit the D. M. Robinson Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the University of Mississippi, Oxford. Those desiring to make the trip will so indicate at the time of registration.

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